

HAWAIIAN  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY



SEVENTIETH  
ANNUAL REPORT

FOR THE YEAR  
1961

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ANNUAL REPORT  
  
OF THE  
  
HAWAIIAN  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
  
FOR THE YEAR  
1961

HONOLULU, HAWAII  
PUBLISHED, 1962

*The scope of the Hawaiian Historical Society as specified in its charter is "the collection, study, preservation and publication of all material pertaining to the history of Hawaii, Polynesia and the Pacific area."*

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## SANDWICH ISLAND MISSIONARIES: THE FIRST AMERICAN POINT FOUR AGENTS

By MERZE TATE\*

On the evening of October 15, 1819, in the Park Street Church in Boston, Dr. Samuel Worcester, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,† enjoined the pioneer company of missionaries to the Sandwich Islands to "aim at nothing short of covering these islands with fruitful fields and pleasant dwellings." To accomplish this they were "to introduce and get into extended operation and influence among them, the arts, institutions, and usages of civilized life and society; . . ."<sup>1</sup> Three years later the members of the first reinforcement to the mission, preparing to sail from New Haven, were reminded of these instructions and directed: "In your intercourse with the natives of the island, you will labor to convince them that you are their real friends. This you will do, not by declarations and professions merely, or principally, but by universal labors for their good. It is an established principle in the Providence of God that men will at length be affected by disinterested kindness. None are so low in the scale of intellect—none are so barbarous in their manners or disposition—as not to know the proofs of genuine friendship."<sup>2</sup>

Elisha Loomis, of Middlesex, New York, a printer by trade, and Samuel Whitney, of Branford, Connecticut, a sophomore of Yale College, a teacher and a skilled mechanic, were members of the first company. Although totally unfamiliar with tropical agriculture, Daniel Chamberlain, of Brookfield, Massachusetts, an experienced and prosperous farmer and mechanic, together with his "discreet and pious wife and five promising children," was also included in the band who carried out a supply of seeds and agricultural implements, including axes, ploughs, hoes, and shovels, the most important tools of various mechanical arts, surgical instruments, and a twenty year old Ramage printing press and apparatus, which cost the Board \$775.<sup>3</sup>

Once at their destination, the "Big Island"—Hawaii—, the request to permit some of their party to settle on Oahu was prompted by the wish to be so situated that they might early give proof of their usefulness to the people by introducing various useful arts and by supporting themselves with little

\* Dr. Tate is a professor of history at Howard University, Washington, D.C.

† Hereafter referred to as the American Board, the Mission Board, or the Board. This was an interdenominational body whose membership was predominantly Presbyterian and Congregational. The Prudential Committee of the Board declined "employing Episcopal missionaries, as not being able to recognize the ordination of the Congregational and Presbyterian Brethren; and also Baptist missionaries, as not being able to recognize their *church-standing*."

expense to their patrons. The newcomers desired not only to do good for the Hawaiians, but to have them see that the mission plan would not necessarily impose a tax on them. There was an aversion to becoming parasites, a burden to the government, which seemed to be unavoidable if they settled upon the barren lava of Kailua, Hawaii.\*<sup>4</sup>

In spite of their hopes and the availability of an instructor in agriculture, the missionaries initially received little or no encouragement in their efforts to cultivate the soil. During their first two years in the islands they were not able at the Honolulu station to procure from the government, or from any other quarter, a cow, or an ox, or a horse, though they wished that some of these animals might be owned at each station. This fact, the members of the station reported, was the more remarkable, as there were cattle and horses on the plain, and the large and small carts of the mission were in great demand for drawing stone and other materials for buildings and for fences, but they were still drawn by hand. Such too was the precarious tenure by which land was held, united with the natural suspicion of the government, that any considerable attempts to cultivate the soil, to change the mode of agriculture, or to meet their current expenses by the fruits of their labor, would, they feared, tend to embarrass rather than facilitate what they deemed the most important work of the mission in its infant state.<sup>5</sup> The third year, Chamberlain, finding little opportunity to instruct in agriculture and the rudiments of mechanical arts, returned to Massachusetts. Albeit stymied in their agricultural program, missionaries were the first in Hawaii to yoke oxen to serve as motive power, but this was accomplished only after they had been in the island four years. In general, the improvement of the people in the arts and crafts of civilized life did not keep pace with the reasonable wishes and expectations of the evangelists. In the crafts they met with a little more success than in horticulture, for they trained some islanders in carpentry, in domestic service, and especially in printing and book binding. In 1836 Henry Dimond had fifteen men under his supervision in the mission bindery as folders, sewers, forwarders, and finishers. Of these he wrote: "A shop of more orderly men, of the same number, can hardly be found in America. I am quite certain that the same number of men, taken promiscuously from among the book-binders of New York, would suffer in comparison."<sup>6</sup>

Notwithstanding the defeat of their initial agricultural plans, individual missionaries devoted time to the breaking in of oxen and the cultivation of the soil with rewarding results. After some slips were set out in Kalihi and

\* Kamehameha assigned as a reason for selecting this barren place for his residence that by so doing he would keep his followers poor and dependent; whereas if he lived in the rich and fertile tracts of Oahu, they would be more apt to feel their consequence, and rebel against authority.

Niu valleys near Honolulu, in 1828 or 1829, the growing of coffee was started on the island of Hawaii by the missionaries at Kona and Hilo.<sup>7</sup> From this inauspicious beginning, the Hawaiian coffee industry—with its Kona trademark—traces its subsequent history. Joseph Goodrich, stationed for a number of years at Hilo, was a preacher, teacher, mechanic, and an agriculturist especially noted as a pioneer in sugar cultivation and milling. As early as 1829 he was milling sugar and molasses for his household in a mill of his own construction consisting of three upright wooden cylinders about fourteen inches in diameter turned by hand. Later he supplied molasses to other missionaries. With the assistance of Hawaiians, Goodrich planted a large number of coffee trees and instructed his charges in the mode of cultivation of both cotton and coffee as well as of vegetables and tropical fruits.<sup>8</sup> By 1828 Samuel Whitney had hewn out of ohia logs the rollers for a sugar mill at Kekaha, Kauai.

Early in their sojourn in the islands the missionaries were accused of being opposed to improvements in agriculture and the extension of industry. This allegation arose out of an attempt, in 1828, of a company of American traders, including William French, Stephens Reynolds, John Ebbets, and John C. Jones, who was also United States agent for commerce and seamen, to operate a distillery. In that year Chief Boki, governor of Oahu, either leased a sugar plantation and mill located in the back part of Honolulu to the traders or took them into partnership with himself. The mill had been built by his deceased elder brother, Kalanimoku, the prime minister, to encourage the growth of sugar cane in the district. But the clever Yankees adroitly converted the sugar house into a distillery without, however, thoroughly considering the consequences. Their principal reliance for supplying the distillery with cane was on the fields belonging to the crown and under the control of Queen Regent Kaahumanu. When this royal convert saw the product of the nation's soil turned into rum, she directed the roots of the cane "to be extirpated and their place supplied with potatoes." A *kapu* (*tabu*) was placed on the business. Consequently, the company was unable to get the cane to carry on their enterprise. Another obstacle encountered was in transporting the cane. The missionaries owned the only oxcarts in the vicinity and they were not for hire. In the words of Hiram Bingham: "It was not, indeed, deemed by us safe for the oxen of the missionaries to be seen before the face of that nation, unconsciously drawing cane to a distillery, even before the morality of the traffic in ardent spirits, as a drink, appeared to be much questioned in the United States or England."<sup>9</sup>

On November 15, 1832, Rev. William Richards and others at Lahaina, Maui, in a letter to the American Board, expressed their conviction that in

order to retain the ground which Christianity had already gained in the islands, new plans must be devised for elevating the character and living standards of the people. As one means of doing this, they suggested that the Board sponsor a project for introducing the manufacture of cotton cloth into Hawaii. They pointed out that the cotton tree grew there "most luxuriantly," that the fiber was of the best quality, and that cotton material was in great demand among the inhabitants, having nearly supplanted *kapa* for cloth. They believed that if a manufacturer was sent out with sufficient machinery to establish the enterprise, the chiefs would cooperate by erecting the necessary buildings. Water for machinery was abundant. The missionaries did not propose that the Board become a manufacturing company; but they saw nothing more inconsistent in teaching the people to manufacture cloth than in instructing them in agriculture. They had already voted to teach the Hawaiians carpentry in connection with the high school at Lahainaluna, near Lahaina. In the same month a similar proposal emanated from Messrs. Thurston and Bishop, stationed at Kailua. They too emphasized the need of machinery for the domestic manufacture of cloth and of an instructor. They considered themselves inadequate to devise any plan that would be practicable so long as the means for accomplishing it were out of reach. These clergymen earnestly invited the attention of "the friends of civilization to the subject of raising this people from their degradation" and of uniting "with this mission in fixing upon some practicable means to effectuate this object."<sup>10</sup>

The American Board looked favorably upon the plan and directed its attention toward making spinning and weaving a cottage industry to be carried on by Hawaiian women in their homes. An instructor, in the person of Miss Lydia Brown, was sent to the islands with a supply of domestic spinning apparatus. The experiment was initiated at Wailuku, Maui, in the summer of 1835, and met with an enthusiastic response in the district, with thirty women and girls from ten to forty years of age beginning spinning. From the start the results were encouraging in carding, spinning, and knitting. Looms and other necessary weaving equipment were next procured and a man engaged to teach their operation. Four young men were instructed and later women became efficient in the work. Striped material and plaids as well as plain and twilled cotton cloth came from the looms.<sup>11</sup> A second class spun and wove one hundred sixty yards. Two pieces of more than twenty yards were spun in families under Miss Brown's inspection. When, in February 1837, Richard Armstrong dismissed a graduating class, he had the pleasure of seeing the members clothed in garments of their own manufacture. Two members, dismayed at the prospect of having nothing to do, were employed at the



school in spinning and knitting until they were furnished with equipment to use at home.<sup>12</sup>

On the other islands the people were eager to have the manufacture of cloth commence with them.<sup>13</sup> Governor Kuakini, of Hawaii, one of the most businesslike chiefs, encouraged and supported the project and in 1837 had a stone building constructed at Kailua to be used as a cotton factory. Before May 1838 between five and six hundred yards of cloth had been woven at Wailuku and four hundred yards at Kailua.<sup>14</sup> Spinning and knitting were undertaken at one or two other stations, small fields of cotton were planted at several places, and for a time it seemed that a profitable industry would be founded. However, two obstacles faced the new enterprise: one was the reluctance of the chiefs to grant land for any agricultural development; the other was the missionaries' fear that the industry would be seized upon by the chiefs as a new means of exploiting the time and labor of their people who were virtually serfs. For these and other reasons the first interest slackened, and although there was a revival of cotton growing during the Civil War, when some cotton was exported, thereafter its cultivation was abandoned.

In their correspondence and in general meetings in the 'thirties the missionaries discussed the importance of agriculture as a means of providing a portion of their support and of raising the living standard of the Hawaiians. Rev. B. B. Wisner, secretary of the American Board, in a letter of June 23, 1834, to the Sandwich Islands Mission, emphasized the "importance of getting something for the people to do and giving them industrial habits . . . for an idle people can never be a truly moral and Christian people." He wanted to have the deliberate views of the mission on the subject of agriculture, not with the aim of making New England farmers, "but of introducing and encouraging among them [the Hawaiians] such agriculture as is suited to their climate. Is it practicable? What will be the advantages of it? What facilities are there for it? What hindrances? What is the best method of effecting the object? etc. etc. And if any thing can be done in regard to it, don't wait till you have written to us and get a reply before doing it, but let it be done as soon as practicable."<sup>15</sup>

The following year the mission decided that little could then be done in that field. Nevertheless, the members regarded the subject as of sufficient importance to warrant "encouraging the growth of cotton, coffee, sugar cane, etc., that the people may have more business on their hands and increase their temporal comforts."<sup>16</sup> The initial steps toward the desired end were taken at the mission stations that became veritable oases from which seeds and cuttings of vegetables, fruit trees, and flowers were distributed throughout the country districts. Edwin Locke at Waialua, Oahu,<sup>17</sup> Samuel Ruggles at

Kona, Hawaii, and James Goodrich, of the Hilo station, were especially successful along these lines.<sup>18</sup>

In the construction of stone churches and school houses to supplant the native grass structures, from the time the first stone was cut until the last finishing stroke was struck, the missionaries had to lay out the plans and superintend the work. Thus did they exhibit not only a good example to the Hawaiians of manual labor, but effectually taught them how to perform the operations in carpentry and stone-masonry, as well as the use of tools, in all of which they acquired much needed knowledge.

One of Richard Armstrong's important duties on Maui was building churches, the construction of four of which he superintended; these were at Wailuku, Haiku, Waihee, and Ulupalakua. His daughter Mary Frances reports: "The stones for their walls had to be picked up here and there. Coral was obtained at low tide by divers miles away, and burned for lime. Sand was brought in bags on the backs of natives, and timber hewn out roughly in the mountains for floors and windows, and the grass for the roofs brought from far up the valleys."<sup>19</sup>

The stone church at Iole, on Hawaii, was similarly constructed as a credit to the architect and supervisor, Rev. Elias Bond. The walls were composed of vesicular lava, which was procured from a neighboring ravine, but the sand had to be brought from the valley of Pololu and the beach at Kawaihae, the former place being six miles distant, the latter twenty-six. Since there were no roads over which a team could travel, the material was conveyed to the site of the building in a method entirely novel, and each Hawaiian in the area did his share of labor. Some carried sand in handkerchiefs, others in their undergarments, while others very ingeniously connected an entire suit together, and filled it with the same material, and then walked with it to Iole.<sup>\*20</sup>

Even when the people built houses for themselves, unless they used grass, they called upon their teachers for instructions as to the quality of materials, the methods of procuring them, and for assistance in the planning and execution of the building. In November 1833 the missionaries at Lahaina wrote: "If a wheel or loom is to be made, we must see it done. If the people wish an article of furniture, such as they see in our homes, they often come to us to make inquiries, and wish themselves to be put in the way of making or obtaining it. If a foreign plant is introduced, they wish us to point out the soil for it, and tell them how to cultivate it. If oil is to be extracted from the oil of the nut, we must put our hands to the press to teach the people how.

\* A century later, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and his followers also carried stones—sometimes one by one when out for a walk or on an errand—for the construction of their ashram at Sevragram, near Wardha, on the Deccan.

When we search the soil and find a substitute for ochre or other foreign paints, they then can use it. When we bring sulphur from their mountains and teach them how to use it, they then, and not till then, learn its value.”<sup>21</sup>

After sixteen years of evangelistic and secular labors, the Protestant missionaries took stock of their work in Hawaii; they surveyed generally the economic and political conditions and the progress which had been made toward Christian civilization and were forced to conclude that while a great change had been effected in the religious practices, views, and institutions of the kingdom, the modifications in the civil policy of the government and in the science of political economy had by no means kept pace with the progress of the gospel. Moreover, little or no improvement had been brought about in the economic conditions of the country. This fact was so impressive that they felt impelled to prepare a memorial on the importance of increased efforts to cultivate the useful arts among the Hawaiian people and an outline of a course of action which they submitted to the consideration of the American Board and other Christian philanthropists in the United States.<sup>22</sup> Intent on providing a needy nation of 125,000 souls with ample means of instruction in every useful department, and unwilling to have the ordinary practical arts and sciences of life neglected, they applied to the Board for forty-six additional missionary laborers, to be sent at once, indicating the location and the work for each. They pointed out that the foreign mechanics employed in the islands uniformly refused to teach the Hawaiians the trades; and the course pursued by the public agents stationed there seemed to embarrass and depress, rather than to enlighten and elevate the nation.

In the thirteen page memorial, drafted in July 1836, the missionaries suggested that the American Board or some society formed on similar principles should send to Hawaii agricultural and industrial teachers. They indicated:

“The people need competent instruction in *agriculture, manufactures*, and the various methods of *production*, in order to develop the resources of the country (which are considerable), for though there is a great proportion of waste and barren territory in the group, yet either of the principal islands is doubtless capable of sustaining quadruple the whole population, were its resources properly and fully called forth. They need competent instruction immediately in the science of government, in order to promote industry, to secure ample means of support, and to protect the just rights of all. They need much instruction and aid in getting into operation and extended influence those arts and usages which are adapted to the country, calculated to meet the wants, call forth and direct the energies of the people in general, and to raise

up among them intelligent and enterprising agents, qualified to carry on the great work of reform here and elsewhere."

The memorialists pointed to various obstacles to be met at the outset. "The people are poor as well as ignorant. They have not the capital nor the encouragement to enter on any great plan of improvement in bringing forward the resources of the country." Though they performed considerable labor for themselves and drudgery for superiors, "yet there was great deficiency in the amount of profitable industry, and a great waste of human muscle in the cultivation of the soil, in the transportation of its products, and other heavy burdens, and the unaided performance of much that might be done or facilitated by the power of domestic animals, water, steam, machinery, etc."<sup>23</sup>

The missionaries observed: "If we suppose one or two thousand of the people are under the influence of Christian motives, one to a hundred, or one to fifty; the great body need more powerful promptings and encouragements to effort and enterprise than they now have, and unless something more can be done for the people, they will not provide well either for the rising or future generations: they will not sustain good schools for the education of their children: they will not raise up and maintain a competent number of well trained ministers, physicians, lawyers, legislators, etc., nor will they have manufacturers and merchants of their own to conduct the business of the country. But foreign speculators may be expected to seize on the advantages which the country affords for agriculture, manufactures, and commerce: and an inevitable influx of foreign population, induced only by the love of pleasure and gain, would doubtless hasten the waste of the aborigines; and at distant period, the mere mouldering remnants of the nation could be pointed out to the voyager."

Going beyond agriculture and industry, the memorial stated that efforts should be directed toward making improvements in legislation, in the execution of law, in medicine, agriculture, manufacturers, and commerce. Or, if this should appear impractical the drafters proposed the organization of "a company on Christian and benevolent principles, for the express purpose of promoting the interests of this country." They recommended that the company or the agents to be employed by the society consist of "a general superintendent, possessing weight of character, liberal endowments, thoroughly acquainted with the science of law, and capable of giving advice in the affairs of government"; four agriculturists, one for each of the principal islands, "acquainted with the growing of cotton, cane, etc., and the manufacture of sugar, to superintend plantations"; a merchant to transact the mercantile business of the Society, or company, both in the islands and abroad, supplying the people at a reasonable rate, with such articles as they need," receiving in

return raw cotton, cane, and cash. Finally, there was wanted a cotton manufacturer, "with competent machinery or the means of making it," who would process all the cotton raised by the company or received in barter for goods. This "produce should be offered by the merchant for sale to the people, and if not demanded by them, exported to the coast."<sup>24</sup>

Before sending this memorial to Boston by Rev. William Richards, who was returning to the United States, the missionaries conferred with King Kamehameha III and the chiefs. Richards reports that they appeared gratified with the proposal and inquired particularly what would be necessary for them to do when the teachers should arrive. They were told to furnish good land for the cultivation of the various articles, to allow water privileges, to build roads, etc., and informed "that all the avails obtained by their ho'olimalima [employees or retainers] would belong to the company, but that the company would manufacture cotton belonging to the chiefs and people at such a lay as they could afford." Richards explained the proposal fully, except that he did not allude to the inescapable fact that the plan would "undermine and subvert their present system," but he thought "that even the king perceives it will end thus."<sup>25</sup> Kamehameha and the high chiefs endorsed an accompanying letter reinforcing the memorial and specifically asking for "a carpenter, tailor, mason, shoemaker, wheelwright, paper-maker, type-founder; agriculturists . . . ; cloth manufacturers, and makers of machinery to work on a large scale, and a teacher of the chiefs in what pertains to the land, according to the practice of enlightened countries; . . ."<sup>26</sup>

Nothing tangible resulted from this singular appeal which was over a century in advance of American public and official opinion on technical assistance to undeveloped areas. The memorial arrived in Boston in 1837 when the United States was experiencing one of the most severe financial panics in its history and men's minds were focused on monetary, not missionary, problems. Moreover, the American Board, when the communication came before it, was clearly of the opinion that the whole subject "lay beyond its province, as a missionary institution."<sup>27</sup>

The failure to have their requests granted neither daunted the spirit of the intrepid missionaries nor deterred them from offering whatever technical or advisory services their meager resources permitted. They took no narrow or limited view of their duties but set their mark high as they labored to cover the islands with fruitful fields. At the 1838 delegate meeting of the mission the state of agriculture was given serious and thorough consideration. Reporting at length to the American Board, the missionaries lamented that "a land enjoying one of the finest climates of the world, with a soil as good for cultivation as any on which the sun ever shone, should remain untilled."

They pointed out that a great portion, probably nineteen-twentieths, of the whole land of the islands was uncultivated. Agriculture with but three or four exceptions was confined principally to the native 'ō'ō (a sort of chisel for digging the ground) which produced little or nothing more than what was needed for home consumption and supplies for the few ships which touch there; while the soil, that might produce exports to the amount of millions of dollars yearly, was suffered to remain in the state in which it had lain from untold ages. This subject was one in which they felt intense interest, as connected with the future destinies of the nation; and they recommended it to the attention of philanthropists, as one on which depended "much of the temporal and eternal welfare of the people."<sup>28</sup>

The delegates further stated that the subject of manufacture was connected with agriculture; both claimed and must receive attention or the nation would be ruined. Although they had taught the manufacture of cloth and the governor of Hawaii had also taken up the project, "some greater establishment must exist before a thousandth part of the nation can be clothed with cotton raised and manufactured on their own soil; or employment be given to an idle dying, enervated population."<sup>29</sup>

The missionaries reported on their success at all of their stations in hats and bonnets made by Hawaiian girls and women "with considerable skill and taste. Some of which would admit of no mean comparison with those of more enlightened countries, especially when viewed at a little distance." A few natives had been taught the use of joiners tools, so that they were able to make panel doors, window sashes, tables, settees, etc. Moreover, the initial steps had been taken for two establishments for manufacturing raw silk, and one for milling sugar was already in successful operation. These, however, were conducted by foreigners. Much needed to be done in the way of teaching the Hawaiians themselves to operate manufacturing establishments of their own, and thus develop the latent energies of the nation.<sup>30</sup>

In this 1838 meeting the delegates resolved that they deemed it proper for the members of the mission "to devote a portion of their time to instructing the natives into the best method of cultivating their lands, and of raising flocks and herds, and of turning the various products of the country to the best advantage for the maintenance of their families, the support of the government and of schools, and the institutions of the gospel and its ministers, at home and abroad."<sup>31</sup>

Five weeks after this meeting and resolution, William Richards, who had just accepted a new post as chaplain, teacher and translator for the king, attempted to impress upon the secretary of the American Board that the Hawaiians "must have more instruction on the means of production." He

asserted: The "nation can not long exist without it. The people can not support the gospel without it. There can not be a nation of consistent Christians without industry, and for the encouragement of that there must be plans laid which the natives unaided can not devise or carry into execution."<sup>32</sup>

In a general letter to the Board, dated June 8, 1839, the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission observed that "at many stations the state of things is becoming such, that the missionary, by directing the labor of natives, and investing some fifty or a hundred dollars in a sugar-mill, or in some other way, might secure a portion and often the whole of his support, and would thus be teaching the people profitable industry."<sup>33</sup>

The plan was put into operation by some of the missionaries on Kauai, Maui, Oahu, and Hawaii. On the first named island, in the vicinity of Koloa, the same year as the above resolution, sugar mills were set up and ground cane for the people of the area on the shares. In 1840 Rev. John S. Emerson, at Waialua, Oahu, managed a mill run by horse power and made sugar and molasses on shares. Artemas Bishop at Ewa, located around the head of the middle lock of Pearl River lagoon, owned a mill run by water power, in which he produced for himself and Hawaiians quantities of sugar and molasses. Bishop also managed one of the best known of the early dairy farms on the island of Oahu.

Elias Bond, occupying a station in the secluded district of Kohala, on Hawaii, where there were few or no foreigners and no mechanics, found his life filled with an increasing amount of secular drudgery. Besides the multitude of little chores necessary for his own family, his people ever looked to him to accomplish whatever was beyond their ability. On April 2, 1852, he wrote: "If an axe was to be ground, a razor [sic] whet, scissors sharpened or riveted, they were naturally brought to me. But I procured a hone and taught the owners to sharpen their own razors and taught also a man to use a grind stone, and thus gradually threw off much of that kind of service, but it was only to enter upon other employment requiring more labor and more care."<sup>34</sup>

The Reverend Mr. Bond is especially known for organizing the industry of a sugar plantation for the benefit of the Hawaiian people. First he superintended the cultivation of sugar cane for the support of the Kohala boys' school and later bought abandoned land and founded the Kohala Sugar Plantation to furnish occupation for the Hawaiians of the district who had begun to drift to the cities.<sup>35</sup> After the reciprocity treaty of 1875, when the dividends began to soar, Mr. Bond contributed his to the American Board.<sup>36</sup> Elias Bond, like Rev. John D. Paris, at Kau, on Hawaii, sought to make the Hawaiians industrious as well as religious, by helping them to



secure homesteads and giving them the opportunity to engage in remunerative labor.

The vigorous and versatile Titus Coan at Hilo supported the boys' boarding school from the proceeds of sugar. In a letter of March 5, 1840, to the Board, he wrote: "A field of sugar has been cultivated by the people at this station, which has produced 5,400 pounds of sugar and 400 gallons of molasses." The profits were appropriated to the school. Coan observed: "Were there sugar mills in the near vicinity of all the church members in Hilo and Puna, we might easily obtain five thousand dollars annually, as we now obtain five hundred. We might then sustain the three families at the station, together with our boarding and common schools, and be able to do something for foreign objects of benevolence. But this cannot be at present; perhaps never."<sup>37</sup>

Richard Armstrong, while stationed at Wailuku, Maui, encouraged animal husbandry and agriculture. He kept "one plough going constantly with a view to the support of schools." On July 7, 1840, he reported "I have assisted the natives to break in some twelve yoke of oxen, which have done a great deal towards relieving the people of their burdens. Three years ago every thing, food, timber, potatoes, pigs, stones, lime, sand, etc., were carried on the backs of the natives, or dragged on the ground by their hands. Their taxes were carried sometimes thirty to forty miles in this way; but almost all this drudgery is now done by carts and oxen, and the head men say they cannot get the men on their lands to submit to such work as they once could. This is clear gain." On the request of the king, Armstrong took some part in inducing the people about him to plant sugar cane. In 1840 a fine crop of sixty to seventy acres was grown, and a watermill set up by a Chinese was going into operation to grind it.<sup>38</sup> Later at this same station Edward Bailey designed and built a water-run mill for grinding sugar and wheat.<sup>39</sup> Richard Armstrong, always deeply concerned and generally pessimistic over the future prospects of the Hawaiian people and the sovereignty of their kingdom, as early as 1840 was convinced that "unless the natives can arise & cope with foreigners in trade, agriculture and various sorts of business, they will never be any thing more than hewers of wood and drawers of water for foreigners."<sup>40</sup> In later years he was one of the founders of the Haiku Sugar Company at his former home on Maui.

Rev. Jonathan S. Green, pastor of the church at Makawao, Maui, was the pioneer wheat farmer of the islands and for his efforts in this area of horticulture is known as the "apostle of wheat." Mr. Shipman at Kau also encouraged and promoted the growth of the cereal. After the collapse of the potato boom of 1849-1851, considerable attention was directed to wheat and



the acreage expanded in 1852 and subsequent years; however, the production of the grain was confined almost exclusively to Maui.<sup>41</sup>

The members of the Sandwich Islands Mission were cognizant of the necessarily limited influence in the economic field of their unaided efforts. Therefore, they encouraged the development by others of industries that would improve the conditions of the inhabitants. By 1840 an air of prosperity and enterprise pervaded the Koloa community where William Ladd, Peter A. Brinsmade, and William Hooper worked cane fields and had operated a mill since 1836. Large fields of cane had also been planted in the area by Kamehameha III, the governor, and local chiefs. The missionaries at Koloa, foreseeing the good results likely to come from this industrial awakening, at the beginning of 1840 urged the company to build a second mill in order to be able to take care of all the cane that was being planted in the district. In addition, the juxtaposition of the Ladd and Company fields and those of the chiefs operated under the old feudal labor system pointed up the advantages of free labor.

The first mission schools were not established as industrial or manual training institutions, but in the 1830's the evangelists perceived the importance of agriculture and industry in raising the living standard of the nation. In their general meeting held at Lahaina in 1833 they proposed a manual labor system, as a means both of desirable improvement and self-support, to be instituted at the high school. The secular agent was instructed to engage an artisan to oversee the work, take charge of the stock, tools, etc.<sup>42</sup> Two years later the mission recommended that a farmer be procured to teach agriculture and to conduct the secular concerns of the school and that the scholars be required to cultivate the land or earn their own food by their personal industry.<sup>43</sup>

Edwin Locke's school at Waialua, Oahu, opened August 28, 1837, with one hundred children and six teachers.<sup>44</sup> The boys were required to work in the fields four hours each work day, not simply to support the school, but primarily to inculcate habits of industry. Locke labored with his own hands, in company with ten to twenty boys, converting a waste place into fruitful fields and at the same time teaching his charges industrious habits, sound morals, and religion. Very early in their training the boys learned to yoke oxen and to plough. Through the cultivation of sugar cane the school became self-supporting and at times its operations showed a surplus.

In 1841 a regular manual labor school was started at Waioli, on Kauai, by Edward Johnson, but later was conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Abner Wilcox. Moreover, in the boarding schools at Kohala, Wailuku, and Hilo the boys were given instruction in agriculture and the girls were taught domestic science or home making. Not satisfied with their meager industrial and agricultural efforts, the missionaries at their general meeting of 1844 recom-

mended that the government "be urged to establish and support a National Institution, whose main object it shall be to teach agriculture in connection with the sciences."<sup>45</sup> Although nothing came of this proposal, the Hilo Boarding School curriculum kept abreast with industrial progress by introducing successively courses in agriculture, tailoring, dairying, carpentry, blacksmithing, and coffee culture in the nineteenth century and cocoa, banana, and pineapple production and auto mechanics in the twentieth. On twenty-five acres of land at Lahainaluna set aside for vocational education, Samuel T. Alexander, just out of college, was assigned, in 1862, to the supervision of a sugar cane project. The success of this experiment conducted by the son of a former missionary principal, William P. Alexander, encouraged the commercial development of sugar in Hawaii.

When the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society was founded in Honolulu on August 12, 1850, for the purpose of conducting systematic investigations to arouse and increase interest in agriculture and to create a greater zeal among those who cultivated the soil, the society appealed to the missionaries to help organize auxiliary societies on each of the islands.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to the boarding institutions with their vocational training program, the mission printing establishments in Honolulu and at Lahainaluna served as apprentice schools for a number of Hawaiian youths who developed commendable proficiency in printing and binding and later served as craftsmen in private and government printing offices.

The Protestant missionaries in Hawaii, in instituting manual labor schools were forty years ahead of their contemporaries in the United States; not until 1878 was the first manual training school established in Massachusetts. The schools at Lahainaluna, Waimea, and Hilo suggested the plan of Hampton Institute to Samuel C. Armstrong who in 1851 accompanied his father, then minister of education, on a tour of inspection. The creed of industrial education for underprivileged red and black people was carried by the younger Armstrong to Hampton Institute, Virginia, founded in 1868 by the American Missionary Society through his efforts. He, the first principal of this normal and agricultural institute, believed that "education is conditioned not alone on an enlightened head and a changed heart, but very largely on a routine of industrious habit, which is to character what the foundation is to the pyramid."<sup>47</sup> Out from Hampton went Booker T. Washington imbued with its principles to establish Tuskegee Institute, in Alabama, to train "the head, the hand, and the heart" of Negroes. Impressed by the latter's achievements in lifting a downtrodden people, Mohandas Ghandi adopted the idea of manual training for his basic education program for India, "A great constructive program designed to free the body and lift the spirit," and which "promised

relief from degrading poverty." Hence did the ideas and principles of the Sandwich Islands missionaries spread to far distant parts of the world to benefit similarly depressed masses.<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, in their desire to improve economic and social conditions in Hawaii, American evangelists very early were faced with a dilemma. Although accused of opposing the efforts of other outsiders to develop the resources of the islands, they realistically recognized that foreigners and foreign capital were necessary. They looked favorably on the Koloa experiment because of their confidence in Ladd, Brinsmade, and Hooper; but they feared the indiscriminate introduction of many foreigners with large amounts of capital. They yearned for a sort of philanthropic and controlled spirit to permeate the agricultural development and industrialization of the Hawaiian Islands. This was the pervasive idea—visionary for that age—embodied in their 1836 memorial to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Thus, one hundred-thirteen years before President Harry S. Truman's "bold new program" for making the benefits of American scientific "know how" and industrial progress available for the advancement of undeveloped areas of the world, the Sandwich Islands missionaries demonstrated a genuine and prophetic acquaintance with the requirements of a humble people lacking skill, enterprise, and industry, and suffering under so many restrictions that their temporal prosperity and their existence as a nation appeared problematical. To the naive and sometimes indolent Hawaiians the evangelists exhibited the advantages of industry and frugality; they endeavored earnestly with their limited resources to lift a benighted nation from ignorance and poverty, in fact, to save it from extinction. Their mission was more than a mission of love—it was the first American technical mission overseas; their tireless labors and simple instruction in the agricultural, mechanical, and manual fields represented the first chapter in the prelude to Point Four.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Instructions of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Sandwich Islands Mission*, Lahainaluna, 1838, p. 27; *Missionary Herald*, XXIII, 1827, 204. Organ of and published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston. Hereafter *M. H.*

<sup>2</sup> Same as first reference in no. 1, p. 41; *M. H.*, XIX, 1823, 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 1819, 214; XVI, 1820, 281; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford and New York, 1848), p. 61; Thomas Marshall Spaulding, "The First Printing In Hawaii," *Bibliographical Society of American Papers*, L, 1956, 327.

<sup>4</sup> *M. H.*, XVII, 1821, 119. Cf. *Ibid.*, editors' note, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 1823, 316. Cf. *Ibid.*, XXX, 1834, p. 449.

<sup>6</sup> Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 490. Rev. and Mrs. Orramel Hinckley Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii; their own story of their Pilgrimage from New England and Life and Work in the Sandwich Islands, now known as Hawaii* (New York and Chicago, 1918), p. 325.

<sup>7</sup> Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, *Missionary Album* (Honolulu, 1937), p. 93.

Hereafter, *Missionary Album*. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu, 1947), p. 173.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 173-174; *The Friend, Temperance Advocate and Seamen's Magazine*, Honolulu, published and edited by Samuel C. Damon, V. Feb. 1, 1847, 17-18. Hereafter *The Friend*.

<sup>9</sup> Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

<sup>10</sup> *M. H.*, XXIX, 1833, 268, 264.

<sup>11</sup> Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, 1845), IV, 97-98.

<sup>12</sup> *Minutes of a General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, 1837*, Oahu Mission Press, Honolulu, 1837, p. 14. Hereafter *Minutes of General Meeting*. *M. H.*, XXXIV 1838, 264.

<sup>13</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> *M. H.*, XXVI, 1840, 245; Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, *Hawaii: A History* (New York, 1948), p. 95. Doubtless the amount of cloth manufactured would have been much increased if Miss Brown's health had permitted her to prosecute the work and if Kuakini had not found rough cotton cloth cheaper to buy than to manufacture.

<sup>15</sup> B. B. Wisner to the Sandwich Island Mission, June 23, 1834, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Letters, Foreign, XV (ABC: 2.01-3) preliminary series, MSS.; this is not in the printed volume of *General Letters*. The papers of the A.B.C.F.M., formerly housed at Missionary House, Boston, are now available in the Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

<sup>16</sup> Gulick, *op. cit.*, p. 325; *Minutes of General Meeting*, 1835, p. 19. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 1832, pp. 29, 33.

<sup>17</sup> Journal of Edwin Locke, MSS, Harvard College Library, (ABC: 19.3-3), *passim*. On May 18, 1837, Locke laid out a row of coconut trees. *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Gulick, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-326; *Missionary Album*, pp. 93, 129.

<sup>19</sup> Mary Frances Armstrong (Morgan), *America, Richard Armstrong. Hawaii* (Hampton, Virginia, 1887), p. 21.

<sup>20</sup> A Häolé (George W. Bates), *Sandwich Island Notes* (New York, 1854), p. 351.

<sup>21</sup> *M. H.*, XXX, 1834, 338-339. In addition to their varied pastoral—in both senses of the term—and educational duties, William Richards and Ephraim Spaulding, while stationed at Lahaina, kept records of the arrival of whaleships at that busy port. Cf. Letter of Richards and Spaulding, Dec. 7, 1833, published in *Sailor's Magazine*, IV, 1834, 356.

<sup>22</sup> A Memorial to the A.B.C.F.M. and other Christian Philanthropists on the importance of the arts as auxiliary to the establishment and performance of Christian Institutions among the Heathen, Letters to the American Board, CXXIV, no. 3. (ABC: 19.1-8) Hereafter Memorial. Printed in Bingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 491-495.

<sup>23</sup> Memorial, p. 5; Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

<sup>24</sup> Memorial, pp. 10-11; Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

<sup>25</sup> William Richards to Levi Chamberlain, Aug. 21, 1836, in Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, Hawaii.

<sup>26</sup> Rufus Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission* (Boston, 1870), pp. 126-127; Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 496. There are some slight variations in the two copies. This letter of Aug. 23, 1836, was signed by King Kauikeaouli, the princess, the regent, the governors of Oahu, Hawaii, and Maui, and the other high chiefs who were then at Lahaina.

<sup>27</sup> Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>28</sup> Report of the Delegate Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, June 20, 1838, Letters to the American Board, CXXXIV, no. 10. (ABC: 19.1-8).

<sup>29</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>30</sup> *Loc. cit.* Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, in a communication to Dr. Rufus Anderson, recommending his writing Kamehameha III and his elder half-sister, Kinau, practically a co-ruler, "on the importance of encouraging agriculture among the people in order to supply the foreign market," accompanying his letter "with a good plough & harness for a horse team." Judd to Anderson, Oct. 9, 1838, Letters to the American Board, CXXVII, no. 77 (ABC: 19.1-11). *Letters of Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, 1827-1872*, Fragments, II, Family Records, House of Judd, Honolulu, 1911, 110-112.

<sup>31</sup> *Revised Minutes of Delegate Meeting*, 1838, pp. 28-29; *United States Senate Reports*, 53 Cong., 2 sess., no. 227, p. 505.

<sup>32</sup> Richards to Anderson, Aug. 1, 1838, Letters to the American Board, CXXXV,

no. 83, (ABC: 19.1-9).

<sup>33</sup> M. H., XXXVI, 1840, 245.

<sup>34</sup> Ethel M. Damon, *Father Bond of Kobala* (Honolulu, 1927), p. 255.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 178ff, 253, 284.

<sup>36</sup> *Missionary Album*, p. 47.

<sup>37</sup> M. H., XXXVII, 1841, 198.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>39</sup> *Missionary Album*, p. 29.

<sup>40</sup> Armstrong to Chapman, Dec. 3, 1840, Armstrong-Chapman Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>41</sup> *Missionary Album*, p. 95; Kuykendall, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

<sup>42</sup> *Minutes of General Meeting*, 1833, pp. 14-15.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 1835, p. 16.

<sup>44</sup> Journal of Edwin Locke, Aug. 28, 1837.

<sup>45</sup> *Minutes of General Meeting*, 1844, p. 16.

<sup>46</sup> Josephine Sullivan, *A History of C. Brewer & Company, Limited. One Hundred Years of Progress 1826-1926* (Boston, 1926), pp. 150-153.

<sup>47</sup> Samuel C. Armstrong, "Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands," *Journal of Christian Philosophy*, ed., John A. Paine, New York, III, Jan. 1884, 213.

<sup>48</sup> William Stuart Nelson, "The Tradition of Nonviolence and Its Underlying Forces," *The Journal of Religious Thought*, Washington, D.C. Summer-Autumn Issue 1959.

## PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE RESOURCES FOR HAWAIIAN HISTORY

By EDGAR C. KNOWLTON, JR.\*

For the study of the history of Hawaii little attention has been paid to materials available in Portuguese. Surveys of the resources available in various locally used languages may be of use to future historians. Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society may be able to persuade people who know of such resources to help in their preservation. The potential value of such material is not always recognized by its possessors, and details that deserve to be recorded become forever lost.

In this treatment of Portuguese language resources for Hawaiian history we shall first describe briefly materials published in Portugal, and then pass on to those available in Hawaii. We shall limit ourselves to materials written in Portuguese and must admit that this survey is by no means complete. It is just a beginning.

In 1881 in Lisbon was published the fifth number of the second series of the *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, which includes on pages 339-356 documents concerning Portuguese colonies in foreign countries. The material specifically dealing with Hawaii is not extensive, but it does give information about emigration from Portugal from 1866 until the date of publication, says that most of the emigrants were from Madeira, and gives census figures for 1872 and for 1878. The University of Hawaii's Sinclair Library has this and the following publication on microfilm.

More detailed is the account entitled "Colónias portuguesas nas Ilhas de Havaii e America do Norte," originally given as a lecture by Joaquim Costa at the Geographic Society of Lisbon on June 16, 1911.<sup>1</sup> On page 238 he begins the account of the Portuguese in Hawaii. Hawaii is described geographically and historically; the discovery of the islands is attributed to Cook, but Costa mentions the existence of statements that a Japanese boat touched Maui in the thirteenth century and that in 1550 some Spanish shipwrecked sailors landed at Hawaii. He describes the system of government, presents population statistics, and describes briefly Honolulu, Hilo, the educational system, and the climate.

Costa then characterizes the Hawaiians, their music, their language, their food, their boats, their dances and sports, as well as business, exports and imports, with a list of articles which Portugal might export to Hawaii.

Mention is made of the Hawaiian flora and a survey of Portuguese

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migration to Hawaii is given. The twenty-eight years' active service of Consul-General A. S. Canavarro (1849-1914) is praised, and then Costa speaks of the occupations of the Portuguese. Mr. Andrew Adams (1867-1949), the director of the Kahuku plantation, is praised as a great friend and admirer of the Portuguese. The financial status of the Portuguese is mentioned with a variety of statistics, and a brief sketch of the benevolent societies follows. The work of the "Patria" association, founded in 1905 with the special purpose of spreading the Portuguese language in the colony, is lauded together with a founder, José Coelho de Sousa (1880-1950), employee of the Honolulu post office, whose life is sketched as a representative success story of a Portuguese in Hawaii, who began work on the plantation at the age of fourteen, and became one of the leaders in the colony.<sup>2</sup>

Costa goes on to discuss the love of this group for the mother country, the need of visits of Portuguese warships to Hawaii, and of lectures and missions on Portuguese literature and life. The Neo-Portuguese legislators of Hawaii are named: G. F. Affonso (1875-1950) of Hawaii, A. Q. Marcallino (1881-1959) of Oahu, and Antone F. Tavares (1875-1942) of Maui. The electorate is then characterized and also the two Portuguese newspapers published in Hawaii. This study of Hawaii's Portuguese concludes with a tribute to the Portuguese made by Governor Walter F. Frear (1863-1948) and with a reiteration of praise of Consul-General Canavarro.<sup>3</sup>

The library of the Hawaiian Historical Society possesses a 40-page monograph written by Euclides Goulart da Costa which was published in Coimbra in 1921.<sup>4</sup> The copy is inscribed to W. D. Westervelt (1849-1939) by the author, who was acting consul of Portugal, and spent about two and one-half years in Hawaii between April 30, 1917, and September, 1919. The preface to this study is dated August 12, 1919, and in it the author speaks of three studies: one on the active volcanoes (of which at least a part appears to have been reprinted in J. F. Freitas's *Portuguese-Hawaiian Memories*), one on leprosy and the leprosarium of Molokai, and this monograph, entitled *Notas de Hawaii*.

*Notas de Hawaii* has a section on the primitive life of the natives, with information on the flora, the fauna, and the old traditions and customs, some of which like the *lei* and the *luau* have come down to our century. The section on the language of the Hawaiians is interesting and shows some knowledge but it is surely an exaggeration to say as does Costa: "Hawaiian books are read and understood in the Marquesan Islands, by the natives of New Zealand, the Philippines, etc."<sup>5</sup> The notice on language is followed by a readable account of Hawaii's history, most interesting perhaps when it refers to the beginning, in 1878, of the immigration of Portuguese people from Madeira, the Azores, and Cape Verde, when, in the words of the author:



"A fama das riquezas de Hawaii ressuscita a lenda dos reinos de Preste-Joham das Indias."<sup>6</sup> Costa provides statistics of the immigration and credits the Portuguese with the expansion of the sugar cane plantations, the increase of the white population, the number of voters and influence of this group of Hawaii's inhabitants. He points out that all the races get along beautifully in Hawaii.<sup>7</sup>

Costa's picture of Hawaii is one of wealth, millionaires, racial harmony and variety; he is fond of referring to it as a new Babel, but admits that by 1919 to acquire a fortune has become more and more difficult.

His final section deals with "Artistic Hawaii: Nature, music, and poetry." On page 37 he pays tribute to the influence of the Portuguese on Hawaii's musical life—not only with their new instruments, but also the modes, tunes, and motifs. He speaks of the revolution wrought by the instruments, the Hawaiian nationalization of the *cavaquinho* as the "Uku-lele," and acceptance of the *viola*. Costa says that every Hawaiian man knows how to play the *viola*, and every girl can strum the "Uku-lele," and that moon-lit Honolulu nights are reminiscent of those of Coimbra in Portugal with guitar playing and serenading.

In 1950 there was published in the city of Horta in the Azores a book by Manuel Greaves entitled *Aventuras de baleeiros*, in which the author retells with commentary the youthful adventure of 18-year-old José Rodrigues, as whaler, first heard by the author in 1922 from the lips of Rodrigues's son, António Rodrigues (1872–1928). The adventure began in 1865 and took the young Azorean eventually to Hawaii. The description of Hawaii appears on pages 172–174. For Greaves, almost all of Hawaii's Portuguese were Azoreans or descendants of Azoreans. He says that he can remember that letters in the old days used to go back and forth between the Azores and Hawaii and that he remembers the effigy of the black king, Kalakana, [*sic!*] on the postage stamps. According to Greaves, Kalakana's throne was inherited by his sister, Kalami, and at her death, there was a plebiscite to determine control of the islands by a foreign power. The Portuguese came out first, but for certain reasons control was diverted to the second group, and the islands were handed over to the United States. Kalami seems to be Liliuokalani.

According to Greaves, the Swiss writer, Frédéric G. Blanchod (1883–), in his *Le beau voyage autour du monde* (Paris, 1939), says that the guitar was introduced by the Portuguese to Hawaii, transformed into the *ukulele*. Greaves makes more specific the attribution and says that certainly the introducers of the instrument were from the Azores!

José Rodrigues reached Honolulu as a shipwrecked whaler; his ship was the *Yampa*, under the American flag. We are told of his reception with *aloha*,



by the curvaceous, dark-eyed *canacas*. There were, this account says, countless Portuguese seamen in Hawaii and Hawaiian women used to receive mariners with refined enthusiasm, and used to swim to the ships, climbing up to board them from the water. However, José Rodrigues pushed on at the first opportunity to San Francisco, and eventually returned to his Azorean homeland. We get a tantalizing, albeit inaccurate, description of the adventures of one of the early Portuguese to have reached Honolulu.

A Portuguese journalist, Armando de Aguiar (1906– ), left Lisbon on October 13, 1947 on a round-the-world trip which was later described in the handsome volume entitled *O mundo que os portugueses criaram*, the second edition of which appeared in Lisbon in 1954. It is this edition which is in the Sinclair Library of the University of Hawaii; it is a beautifully illustrated survey of the whole Portuguese world and contains a chapter recording the writer's stay in Hawaii at the end of May, 1949.<sup>8</sup>

Aguiar gives a brief sketch of Hawaii's history, and mentions the possibility that in 1555 the islands were visited by Hispanic navigators led by João or Juan Caetano, who may have been Portuguese or Spanish. Aguiar speaks of two old traditions of the Hawaiians—one of the discovery of the islands by João Caetano, and the other of the group of white, Lusitanian sailors for whom the islands were paradises of love.

Aguiar was greeted at the airport by a group of the Portuguese colony with traditional *aloha*. He mentions King Kalakaua's visit to Portugal in 1881, where the Hawaiian king received from King Luis I of Portugal a beautiful carriage and a silver harness, now on display in the Honolulu museum. He says that in 1869, King Kamehameha V (1863–1872) called for the first Portuguese to come to Hawaii, and that in the 1870's the stream of immigrants began to come. He speaks of the revolution that overthrew Queen Lili'ua; the Portuguese colony was second numerically, he says, to the Japanese, and some revolutionaries thought of making Carlos I of Portugal (1889–1908) king of Hawaii. The gesture of offering the throne to a Portuguese king boosted the pride and prestige of Hawaii's Portuguese.

Aguiar surveys aspects of Hawaii's cultural life, and mentions Augusto Dias (c.1842–1915), who landed one day with his *cavaquinho* or *braguinho* under his arm, the ancestor of Hawaii's *viola* or *ukulele*. The *hula* acquired new rhythms under the influence of the "Chamarrita," popular in the Azores and known in Madeira. The Kapahulu Social Group revived Portuguese dances and songs; Aguiar mentions dancers in a different group: Mary Lou Marques, Sheila Cabral, M. Silva, Lowrey Cabral, and John de Melo. They performed a Portuguese pantomime for a cultural program.<sup>9</sup> Portuguese influence in the arts, language, mode of life, architecture (particularly of the churches),

the arrangement of interiors of homes, the Madeiran embroidery, jewelry, decorative gold and silver objects, and interest in politics are all mentioned by Aguiar. He records the names of people who entertained him, speaks of the Portuguese Protestant church of which the Reverend A. V. Soares (1860-1930) was pastor for many years, the recollection by many older Portuguese of the visit of the cruiser *S. Gabriel* to Hawaii in 1910, and ends with a brief account of the history of the Lusitanian press in Hawaii.<sup>10</sup>

We may pass over rapidly the tombstone inscriptions in Portuguese in such cemeteries as the Makiki Cemetery and the Roman Catholic Cemetery, which have linguistic and biographical interest, and make mention of what is perhaps the earliest separate Portuguese language narrative for the study of the immigrants, a record made by João Baptista d'Oliveira (J. B. Oliver) and Vicente d'Ornellas of the trip to Hawaii from Madeira of the *Thomas Bell* (1887-1888). This account has been translated by Lucille de Silva Canario, daughter of a fellow passenger of theirs, the late Reverend Ernest G. de Silva of Hilo (c.1874-1955). The interest of the account is great and we hope that it will some day be possible for the original Portuguese and Mrs. Canario's translation to be published.

Mrs. Canario prepared an appendix to the translation which contains statistics from a Portuguese publication we have been unable to examine, the *Almanach Portuguez de Hawaii para 1911*, by M. G. Santos (1871-1932), published by the Companhia Editora do Pacifico.

In 1902 was published at the Typographia Lusitana of Honolulu the first edition of a Portuguese hymnal, *Canticos Evangelicos, Nova Collecção de Psalmos e Hymnos, compilado por ordem do Hawaiian Evangelical Board*. Through the kindness of Mrs. Ruth Jerrel, daughter of one of the translators and composers of the hymns and psalms, Mr. A. H. R. Vieira (1874-1934), we have been able to see his personal copy, containing corrections and improvements for the second 1916 edition, printed by the Mercantile Printing Co., Ltd. of Honolulu. Mr. Vieira, of all twenty-three translators and hymnists, seems to have been especially successful in making the translations fit the music well. Both editions list the names of the translators and writers of the hymns.

Religious purposes were also served by the publication in Honolulu of a Portuguese catechism: *Catecismo Pequeno da Doutrina Christã*, the fourth edition of which was published by A Liberdade Publishing Company, Ltd., in 1904. This catechism is a small booklet of 47 pages, entirely in Portuguese.

In late 1911 were made ready for publication in Portuguese the constitution and statutes of "A Pátria" Association of Mutual Help in Honolulu, a group founded on January 18, 1905, and incorporated on December 10, 1910. The

exact date of publication is not given, but it must have been in late 1911 or early 1912, in Honolulu.

Family records, correspondence, official documents have considerable interest for the study of the Portuguese here, particularly in matters of biography. We have been able to examine, through the kindness of Mrs. Lillian Adams, a passport issued at Horta in the Azores in 1864 to her great-grandmother, Maria Loriana Cunha (c.1830-1887), said to be the first Portuguese woman to land in Honolulu.

A card postmarked January 28, 1916, sent to Mr. A. H. R. Vieira (1874-1934) by F. R. Tranquada (1871-1955), Secretary, lent to us by Mrs. Jerrel, gives living evidence of the use of Portuguese in the activities of Honolulu's Sociedade de Caridade Portuguesa.

An interesting bi-lingual work is the *Jubilee of St. Antonio Society* (1877-1927). Albert P. Taylor (1872-1931) wrote the account of the society's history from a transcription of the records translated into English from Portuguese by the General Secretary, Louis R. Medeiros (1875-1960). Godfrey F. Affonso (1875-1950) translated Mr. Taylor's history into Portuguese, and this Portuguese version comes between pages 47 and 94. There is a copy in the collection of the Archives. Its Portuguese title is "Jubileu da Sociedade Portuguesa de Santo Antonio Beneficente de Hawaii." The book contains many photographs of officers of the Society, among whom are leaders of the local Portuguese community for those years. Perhaps the records of the benevolent associations, if still in existence, could be made accessible for historical study.

The best known book dealing with Portuguese here is Joaquim Francisco de Freitas's (1872-1940) *Portuguese-Hawaiian Memories* (Honolulu, 1930). It is mainly in English, but does contain in Portuguese on pages 236-241 a reprinting of pages 50-53 of G. M. Affonso's Portuguese historical account in the just discussed jubilee work, and of two sketches on the volcanoes by Euclides Goulart da Costa, probably reproduced from the previously mentioned study referred to by him in the preface to *Notas de Hawaii*.

Before ending our account of the materials in Portuguese for the study of local history, let us glance at Hawaii's Portuguese newspapers. A sketch of these newspapers is being published in the 1960 issue of *Social Process in Hawaii*; we shall now confine ourselves to a presentation of Portuguese attitudes revealed in newspapers of 1896 and 1897, particularly toward annexation, and to what may well be the first example of Portuguese poetry written in Hawaii.

Information concerning the Portuguese feeling about annexation with the United States is almost completely passed over in William Adam Russ,

Jr.'s recent *The Hawaiian Republic (1894-98) and its struggle to win annexation* (Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, 1961); he was unable to make use of the Portuguese newspapers. If we look at copies of Portuguese newspapers of 1896 and 1897 we may be able to reconstruct more fully at least editorial views.

An advertisement in *A União Lusitana* for February 1, 1896, tells Portuguese that they need a good suit before annexation and to run to Madeiros and Decker's establishment to get the best material at the most advantageous prices.

Editorials from *O Luso* present the following ideas:

(March 6, 1897) If the reciprocity treaty is terminated under McKinley, the plantation owners may ask the government to yield in favor of a monarchy with Kaiulani on the throne.

(March 13, 1897) The *Star* compares the Portuguese favorably with other European people when wishing to propagate ideas in favor of annexation, but otherwise puts Portuguese below Orientals.

(June 26, 1897) The annexation of Hawaii to the United States will have a useful effect for the Portuguese colony in general.

(September 4, 1897) Annexation may be harmful to the Portuguese because the existing government seems to be worried at Portuguese indifference with regard to the elections at hand; whenever the government has worried over the political activity of the Portuguese, it has always turned out that the government's desire is to take advantage of them.

(September 18, 1897) The *Luso* favors the annexation if this is the only means of making the country stable, and if it is as a State and not in the way proposed.

(October 9, 1897) Senator Morgan was right to say that scarcely five Portuguese living in Hawaii would become American citizens in case of annexation.

These paraphrases from editorials in *O Luso* show that the Portuguese attitude towards annexation is a complex and psychologically interesting historical problem.

These years mark a high point in the history of the Portuguese here. On March 14, 1896, headlines in *O Luso* announced the formation of the Portuguese Union, with J. M. Vivas (c.1863-1912) as president, especially to take steps in the crisis caused by the Asiatic invasion. The Asiatic invasion refers to the presence of many Chinese and Japanese workers in competition with the Portuguese. A shrewd business man made humorous use of the word "invasion" in a different context in an advertisement which appeared in *O Luso* for May 8, 1897, and in later issues. The advertisement begins "PORTUGUESE INVASION" and points out that because of the fresh

goods at good prices at the Palama Grocery Portuguese have come there from Diamond Head, Kalihi, Punchbowl, and Maunaloa, and that it would not be surprising to find that customers sought out the grocery even from the Azores!

Portuguese pride was stimulated by the successes of Portuguese soldiers in Africa at this time, according to *O Luso* of March 21, 1896, where the Portuguese colony is described as being deliriously happy over the glories of the valiant soldiers in Lourenço Marques. This pride is reflected often: in *O Luso* for March 28, 1896, we read: "The Portuguese of Honolulu will yet show some individuals what the Latin race is."

Letters to the editor of *O Luso* for March 28, 1896, and April 18, 1896, are similar in tone; the GREAT LORDS will, it is hoped, see that the Portuguese are not all as meek as they seem, and some American business men who have become successful as a result of trade with the Portuguese have turned their backs on Portuguese customers.

The newspaper pulls no punches. On March 6, 1897, *O Luso* attacks slurs made by the *Advertiser* against Buddhism as going beyond the limits of decency, and in the issue of May 29, 1897, the Reverend Oliver P. Emerson (c.1843-1938) is chided for his plea to gentlemen of Honolulu for used clothing to cover the nakedness of some indigenous ministers attending a yearly ministerial convention. The editor would like to comply, but is in no position to do so, and suggests that Emerson and other high-salaried colleagues might better share part of their income and plantation dividends with less fortunate fellow-ministers as an example of Christian charity rather than to pay respects by tipping hats belonging to other people.

The Portuguese are fond of poetry and compose narrative poems dealing with events of special interest. A frequent form is the four-lined stanza with alternate eight-syllable lines rhyming. Sometimes, as in the characteristic popular quatrain, described and illustrated in detail between pages 230 and 244 of Rodney Gallop's *Portugal, a Book of Folk-ways* (Cambridge, England, 1936) only the second and fourth lines rhyme.

José Tavares de Teves's poem, "Um Cazo Succedido," written on the Honokaa Plantation on October 14, 1885, was published in *O Luso Hawaiiano* of November 5, 1885. The poet, 30 years old at the time the poem was written, had arrived in Hawaii from São Miguel aboard the *Suffolk* on August 25, 1881.

It may be of interest to note that the criticism of island justice in the poem is echoed in other publications of the day. Judge Edward Preston (1831-1890) was quoted on page 3 of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of December 1, 1885, as suggesting to the foreign police officers on the force that they ought to show as much energy in hunting down felonies as they have shown in hunting

petty opium cases, and *The Friend* for December, 1885 (no. 12, vol. 43, p. 3) likewise complained of injustice, asking if there was one set of laws for Chinese Sabbath-breakers and another for the favored few.

#### UM CAZO SUCCEDIDO

Uma historia verdadeira,  
Aqui vou participar,  
Entre nos foi a primeira,  
Cuja deu em que cuidar.

Attenção caros leitores,  
Lhes faço este pedido,  
Porque serao sabedores  
Do que foi succedido

Do dia 5 de Outubro,  
Vejao o que vou notar,  
Eu d'isto nada encubro,  
Tudo vou annunciar.

A uma hora da manha,  
Pretendente a madrugada,  
Foi apanhado um ratao  
Fazendo uma caçada.

Ja era costume seu,  
O que pena nos nao resta,  
A esta plantação veio,  
Duas vezes fora esta.

D'ellas ambas se safou  
Sem nunca ser agarrado;  
A' terceira vez ficou,  
Como um gato entalado.

Tomou por curiosidade,  
Limpar os galinheiros,  
Quando se lembrou ja foi tarde,

De fazer os pes ligeiros.

Nao fazia isto por mal,  
Nao se lembrava das leis,

#### AN EVENT WHICH TOOK PLACE

A true story,  
I shall make known here;  
Among us it was the first  
Which gave cause for thought.

Attention, dear readers,  
I make this request of you,  
Because you will become aware  
Of what took place.

About the fifth day of October,  
See what I shall record;  
I am concealing nothing of this,  
I am going to announce everything.

At one o'clock in the morning,  
Aiming at the earliest morning hours,  
A "rat" was caught  
Making a hunting trip.

It already was his custom,  
Which fact no longer pains us.  
He came to this plantation  
Two times besides this one.

He ran away both times  
Without ever being caught;  
The third time he became  
Like a cat up a tree.

He got the notion  
To clean out the hen-coops;  
When he remembered, it was already  
too late  
To make his feet fleet.

He did not do this from evil,  
He did not remember the laws,

A Antonio de Amaral,  
A esse lhe levou seis.

Todos lhe tinha reicha,  
Por o que este ratao fez,  
Alem d'este, outro se queicha,  
Que tambem lhe furtarao tres.

Ja andavao em espia,  
A ver quando apanhavam  
Quem estes roubos fazia;  
Porque muitos se queichavao.

Um portuguez da Madeira,  
Teve a dita de o apanhar,  
Indo elle de carreira,  
Para o poder agarrar.

Era um ratao Chinez,  
Em se prender foi direito  
Para pagar d'esta vez,  
O que d'outras tinha feito.

Deitado presenciou,  
Que uma galinha gemia,  
Elle nu se levantou,  
Porque mesmo nu dormia.

A sua mulher que viu,  
Que o marido nu estivera,  
Ella que fora saiu,  
E uma camiza lhe dera.

O projecto nao foi mau,  
Em procurar o ratoneiro,  
Lançou a mao a um pau,  
Espetou o galinheiro.

De dentro que signal lhe dava,  
Que de apertado gritou,  
Oh! Se ate ali apertava,

Muito mais continuou.

From Antonio de Amaral  
He took six hens away from him.

All his anger flared up  
For what this "rat" did.  
Besides this man, another complains  
That three were also stolen from him.

They were already keeping watch,  
To see when they would catch  
Who was committing these robberies,  
Because many were complaining.

A Portuguese from Madeira,  
Had the good fortune of catching him  
Going on the run  
In order to be able to catch him.

It was a Chinese "rat."  
Getting caught, he went straight  
To pay this time for  
What he had done on other occasions.

He observed when he was in bed  
That a hen was crying.  
He got up naked  
Because indeed he was sleeping naked.

When his wife saw  
That her husband was naked,  
She went outside  
And gave him a shirt.

The plan was not bad  
For getting the sneak thief.  
The captor put his hand on a stick  
And poked at the hen-coop.

From inside what signal was given!  
For he shouted, when poked,  
"Oh!" when he exerted pressure on  
some spot  
He kept on with more force.

Gritou com gr[a]nde pujança  
Tao apertado se achava,  
Acudiu a visinhança  
Aos berros que elle dava.

Disserao alguns da borda,  
Que acudiraõ ao gritar,  
Quem tem por ahi uma corda,  
P'ra bem de o amar[r]ar.

Foi logo executado,  
Sem nada haver que temer,  
De pes e maos foi atado,  
Ate aurora romper.

Depois de amanhacer,  
Esta voz foi espalhada,  
Aonde foram muitos ver,  
Fazendo grande algazada.

Estava como um penitente,  
Com os olhos amortecidos,  
Intristeceu muita gente,  
Contado dos mal nascidos.

Foram chamar o policia,  
Pr'a o conduzir a prizao,  
Para a senhora justiça  
Fazer sua obrigação.

Quando o policia chegou,  
Fez-se maior o aballo,  
De novo o amarou,  
E depois pos-se a cavallo.

Elle ficou como os melros,  
Que caem na esparrela,  
Foi conduzido a ferros,  
Amarradinho a sela.

Alem d'este eraõ mais dois;  
Em se safarem estaõ contentes,  
Souberam o nome aos bois,  
Em fugir foram valentes.

The thief shouted with great power  
So hard pressed he found himself.  
The neighborhood came running  
At the shouts that he gave.

Some said from the edge  
Who ran up at the shouting,  
"Who around here has a rope  
In order to tie him up well?"

It was done promptly  
Without there being anything to fear;  
Hand and foot he was tied  
Until the break of dawn.

After daybreak  
This news was spread abroad,  
Wherefore many went to see,  
Making a great hullabaloo.

He was like a penitent,  
With his eyes dim;  
Many people were saddened,  
He was numbered among the ill-starred.

They went to call the policeman,  
To take him to prison,  
In order that to Madame Justice  
He should do his obligation.

When the policeman arrived,  
The commotion became greater.  
He tied him up again,  
And afterwards he got on horseback.

He was like the birds  
Who fall in the snare.  
He was taken in chains  
Tied to the saddle.

Besides this man were two more thieves;  
In making their escape they are happy.  
They knew their trade,  
They were valiant in fleeing.



Este ratao foi levado,  
Distancia de milha e meia,  
Prezo e amarrado  
Ate entrar na cadeia.

Quasi tudo lhe julgou,  
A sua perda imensa.  
Depois prezo ficou,  
A espera da sentença.

### Sentença

No dia 10 de corrente,  
Foi elle sentenciado,  
Em que fallou toda gente  
D'este crime mal julgado.

E com effetio senhores,  
Falamos temos razao;  
Veijam Snrs. leitores,  
Em que deu esta questao.

Fez o Snr. juiz,  
Perguntas as testemunhas,  
Em tudo fez o que quiz,  
Nao sabemos se houve cunhas.

Jurarao ellas que virao,  
O ratao ser apanhado,  
E com seus ouvidos ouviraos,  
Terem mais galhinhos furtados.

Nada disto lhe bastou,  
Para o juiz o livrar,  
Em que o ratao se alegrou,  
Em o madar soltar.

Que e isto senhores?  
Os ladroes assim se deixam?  
De roubos possuidores,  
Que uns e outros se queixam.

Que e isto senhores?  
Onde estamos nos metidos?

This "rat" was taken  
The distance of a mile and a half,  
Taken and tied  
Until entering the jail.

Almost everything he deemed  
His immense loss.  
Afterwards he remained a prisoner  
Waiting for the sentence.

### SENTENCE

On the tenth day of this month  
He was sentenced,  
Whereat everybody talked  
About this ill-judged crime.

And indeed, ladies and gentlemen,  
We say we are right;  
See, my readers,  
What the result of this affair was.

His Honor, the Judge, asked  
Questions of the witnesses.  
He did what he wanted in everything.  
We do not know if there were any  
wedges.

The witnesses swore that they saw  
The "rat" being caught,  
And with their own ears they had heard  
People stealing more hens.

None of this was sufficient  
For the judge's freeing him  
For which act the "rat" rejoiced  
When he was ordered released.

What is this, ladies and gentlemen?  
Are thieves permitted like this?  
Possessors of thefts  
Which everybody complains of?

What is this, ladies and gentlemen?  
What have we got into?

Saberem que sao roubadores,  
E serem absolvidos!

Em pouca cousa se encerra,  
Minha fracas expressoes,  
A justiça desta terra  
Veijo que e pelos ladroes.

Faz o que mais lhe convem,  
Por este artigo ou aquelle,  
Dao direito a quem o nao tem,  
Quem o tem fica sem elle.

D'estes casos alguns topo,  
Feitos com muita osadia,  
Se fosse por fumar opio,  
Uns cem pezos pagaria.

Mas como foi por roubar,  
Galinhas a portuguezes,  
Nao podiao comdenar,  
Que lhe nao acharao quezes.

Para os que tenham fe,  
Para mais nao me adeantar,  
O que esta justiça e,  
Podemos considerar.

Caros leitores desculpae,  
Os meus erros escrevidos,  
Que de meu fraco saber vae,

Pr'a entre homens mais sabidos.

Emfim so Deus e puro,  
Isso posso affirmar,  
Tudo o que faz e seguro,  
Nunca se pode enganar.

Knowing that they are thieves  
And being absolved!

Of little moment are  
My feeble words.  
The justice of this country  
I see that it is for thieves.

His Honor does what suits him best  
By this article or that one.  
Right is given to the one without it;  
He who has it remains without it.

I bet that some of these acts  
Committed with great boldness,  
If it were for smoking opium,  
He would pay about 100 dollars.

But since it was for stealing  
Hens from Portuguese people,  
He could not be condemned,  
For no grievance was found against him.

For those who may have faith  
I won't proceed farther.  
What this justice is,  
We may consider.

Dear readers, forgive  
The mistakes I have written,  
For they come from my limited  
knowledge  
To pass among people who are more  
learned.

In short, only God is pure,  
This I can affirm.  
Everything He does is certain,  
He can never be mistaken.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> In the *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (30th series, no. 6) June, 1912, pp. 233-263.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 251-252.

<sup>3</sup> In translation, the tribute made by Governor Frear reads: "We need more Portuguese here; we want them to occupy this land, to be citizens and voters and to cooperate with us in the political construction of the Territory."

<sup>4</sup> This monograph is a reprint from *O Instituto*, vol. 68, no. 1.

<sup>5</sup> "Os livros hawaianos são lidos e entendidos nas Marquesas, pelos nativos da Nova Zelândia, Filipinas, etc. . . ." from E. C. da Costa, *Notas de Hawaii*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19. In translation, "The fame of the wealth of Hawaii revives the legend of the kingdoms of Prester John of the Indies."

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19. ". . . todos se entendem às mil maravilhas."

<sup>8</sup> The chapter on Hawaii is on pages 445-451 of Aguiar's book.

<sup>9</sup> Aguiar apparently derived this information from a story published in the *Diário de Lisboa* for August 20, 1954, pp. 8, 12, entitled "Foi o cavaquinho português que modernizou a hula havaiana," in turn based on an article by Toni Kaizawa in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* of July 14, 1954.

<sup>10</sup> Aguiar mentions the following men whom he met in Honolulu: Dr. Louis A. R. Gaspar, Jr. (1903-1958), Caesar F. Andrade, Antonio D. Castro (1883-1957), John N. Calasa, Manuel L. Gomes, John Filipe Gomes, John P. Gomes, Jr., Manuel Teves, Lionel P. C. Correa, John F. Rosa, John B. Melim, John Caetano, Gregory de Caires, Adelino A. Vieira (1896-1961), and José Coelho de Sousa (1880-1950).

## MINUTES OF THE 70TH ANNUAL MEETING

January 18, 1962

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at the Mission Historical Library on Thursday, January 18, 1962, at 7:45 p.m. President Harold W. Kent presided. The minutes were approved as printed in the annual report. The president announced the retirement of Mrs. Willowdean Handy as librarian and corresponding secretary effective February 28, 1962. A summary of the report of the librarian was given by Mrs. Handy. The auditor's report was presented by the treasurer, Norris Potter, and was accepted. The president read his report on the activities of the Society during the past year. A copy is attached to these minutes.

The secretary presented the following amendment to the constitution as approved by the Board of Trustees. The proposed amendment was accepted by the membership:

"Article III, Section 1, to be amended to read:

"*Board of Trustees.* The Board of Trustees shall consist of nine (9) members, of which the President shall be one. At each Annual Meeting of the Society a president shall be elected to serve one (1) year and two (2) trustees shall be elected to serve four (4) years. No Trustee may be elected to succeed himself except that a minimum of one year shall have elapsed before renomination."

In accordance with the new section, the chairman of the nominating committee, Curtis Cluff, presented the following slate of officers:

President (for 1 year)—Harold W. Kent

Trustees (for 4 years)—Clorinda Lucas and Jon Wiig

Trustees (for 3 years)—Agnes C. Conrad and Jen Fui Moo

Trustees (holdover) —Janet Bell, Charles H. Hunter, J. C. Earle  
and Donald D. Mitchell.

The report was adopted and the secretary was instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for the election of the officers nominated by the committee.

The meeting was turned over to the program chairman, Edgar Knowlton, who introduced the speaker, Harold W. Kent, who gave excerpts from a proposed book on Charles Reed Bishop.

A social hour followed during which punch and cookies were served.

Respectfully submitted,

AGNES C. CONRAD

*Recording Secretary*

## MEETING OF MAY 25, 1961

The Hawaiian Historical Society held a general meeting on Thursday evening, May 25, 1961, at the Mission Historical Library. The President, Harold Kent, presided.

The following resolution was read and unanimously adopted by a standing vote of the Society:

WHEREAS, on the nineteenth day of March, 1961, MEIRIC KEELER DUTTON, a distinguished member of this Society, died at the age of sixty years; and

WHEREAS, during the years of his residence in Hawaii he has given outstanding service to the Society as President, trustee and chairman of committees; and

WHEREAS, through his annual brochures of scholarly research on Hawaiian history, he has personally forwarded the aim of this Society to preserve Hawaii's history; and

WHEREAS, his knowledge and skill in the art of printing was at all times generously made available to the Society and has resulted in publications reflecting taste and economy; and

WHEREAS, by his passing the Society has lost one of its most capable and active members; now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED by the members of the Hawaiian Historical Society, meeting on May 25, 1961, that this Society express its esteem for our departed member who so valiantly served us in spite of a severe physical handicap, and that it record its deep sense of loss at the passing of MEIRIC KEELER DUTTON, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Corresponding Secretary of the Society present a copy of this resolution to the widow as an expression of the sympathy of its members, and the said resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting.

Mr. John Wright, chairman of the Student Essay Contest, announced the following winners: Brian Kubota, Kauai; Antoinette Silva, Kauai; Ronald Matsuwaki, Kauai; Pat Colburn, Honolulu; Sharon Lee Rice, Honolulu. Twenty-five dollars will be awarded each of these students.

Two papers were presented. The first, "Sandwich Island Missionaries: First American Point Four Agents," by Dr. Merze Tate of Howard University was read by Mrs. Charles Poole.

The second paper, "Portuguese Language Resources for Hawaiian History," was presented by Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr., University of Hawaii.

Following the program, refreshments were served.

AGNES C. CONRAD

*Recording Secretary*

## MEETING OF OCTOBER 5, 1961

The Hawaiian Historical Society held a general meeting on Thursday evening, October 5, 1961, at the Mission Historical Library. The President, Harold W. Kent, presided. Announcement was made of the Second Annual Historical Essay Contest for seniors in public and private high schools, which the Society has undertaken. Four cash awards are offered: one of \$50 and three of \$25 each. The closing date is January 15, 1962.

Grateful acknowledgment was made of Mrs. Helen P. Hoyt's gift to the Library of her new book, "Aloha, Susan" and to Mrs. George P. Cooke for the portrait of her father Chief Justice Albert F. Judd.

John Dominis Holt spoke on "The Diaries of David L. Gregg: Glimpses of Kamehameha IV and mid-Victorian Honolulu." Refreshments were served, Miss Marion Morse at the punch table.

## REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

### TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

It is my pleasure and privilege to present the annual report of the president of The Hawaiian Historical Society for the year 1961. I would like to make this report under several subtitles:

#### *Program*

A policy of presenting three evening programs during the year was adopted and followed. We had extremely interesting presentations by: Alan G. Daws, "Titus Coan and The Great Revival"; Mrs. Simes T. (Helen P.) Hoyt, "Theater in Hawaii, 1778-1840"; John Dominis Holt, "The Diaries of David L. Gregg"; Dr. Merze Tate, "Sandwich Island Missionaries: First American Point Four Agents"; Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr., "Portuguese Language Resources for Hawaiian History."

#### *Membership*

An intensive campaign in the fall of 1960 resulted in the acquisition of 258 new members, which practically doubled the membership. Encouraged by this, the Society entered into another membership campaign in the fall of 1961, which brought in 74 new members.

Appreciation is extended to J. C. Earle for his deep interest in membership possibilities. It would appear likely from recent discussions that he will have practical membership projects for our consideration in 1962.

#### *Gifts*

We are pleased to acknowledge the gift of 160 copies of Sanford B. Dole's biography from our kamaaina friend, Miss Ethel Damon.

Mrs. George P. Cooke has presented a portrait of Chief Justice Albert F. Judd, which now hangs on the ewa wall of the library building.

A gift in reverse finds us sending to the Bernice P. Bishop Museum the original Andrew Garrett Scrapbook, which was prepared by Garrett, and it should be a valuable research source for those interested in the life of this man.

A koa pedestal, once displaying the bust of King Kalakaua in Iolani Palace, has been lent to our Society by Robert Van Dyke, who purchased it at the auction of the Honolulu Academy of Arts. It gives us an opportunity to display our bust of Sanford B. Dole.

#### *Projects*

Several projects have engaged our attention in 1961. The microfilming of the "Hawaiian Gazette," for which we have had special funds provided, has moved along.

The Kamehameha Schools' seventy-fifth anniversary plans for 1962-63 have included an invitation for joint sponsorship by the Society with The Schools for a series of nine lectures on Hawaiian history.

The Lahaina Restoration Commission has invited your president to act on its board, and the Society's trustees have approved such participation on behalf of the Society.

The Institute of American Studies has invited the Society to assist in suggesting names and subjects for what may prove to be an interesting 1962 broadcast series on Hawaiian history.

The Social Science Association of Honolulu has invited the Society to sponsor at no cost to the Society the publication of a review of the Eighty Years of Essays of the Social Science Association as written by Dr. Stanley Porteus. Funds in excess of \$12,000 have already been provided for this project. Donald D. Mitchell, chairman of our publications committee, is the liaison member for the Society in the review of the proposed manuscript.

The essay contest, which might well be called the First Annual Essay Contest since we are planning a second one in 1962, resulted in five awards of \$25 each made to high school students who carried on original research projects and prepared essays therefrom for the contest.

#### *Necrology*

On March 19, 1961, one of the most devoted friends of the Hawaiian Historical Society passed away—Meiric Dutton. In his memory a modest Dutton Memorial Foundation has been established, the proceeds from which will be used for projects in which Mr. Dutton was chiefly interested.

#### *General*

Miss Nell Moore assisted our Librarian for ten months this year. Mrs. John M. Lind assisted in our office for many months of 1961. In 1962, we will necessarily need to note certain personnel changes: Our dedicated friend, Willowdean Handy, at long last wishes to step out from under the mantle of direction of our Society. We need to study our entire personnel problem with the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society and look to a unified approach in our overall problem.

Our finances are in need of improvement. We are unable to do all of the work we should do over and beyond that of adequately paying our staff people. Our publications program should continue. Our many projects including the essay contest hold much promise for our purposes. Perhaps most of all, the spreading of interest among more and more members is the key to our service to the community. Your support in that direction is solicited.

This has been a year of deep interest to me. I have enjoyed my association with Mrs. Handy and with the others who operate in the same building.



The trustees of the Society have been devoted and energetic in their discharge of duty. To them and to all of you, the members who are well represented here at this evening's meeting, I say "Mahalo a me Aloha Kakou!"

Respectfully submitted,  
HAROLD W. KENT  
*President*

## REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

TO THE OFFICERS AND TRUSTEES OF  
THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

In accordance with your request, I have examined the documentary evidence of transactions in 1961 for the Hawaiian Historical Society, and the assets and liabilities as of the calendar year-end. The Statement of Financial Condition at December 31, 1961 and the Statement of Income and Expense for the year then ended, which were prepared by me from such data and from the books of account without other audit, are submitted herewith.

In terms of financial activity, the year under review has been particularly notable for the application of large amounts of special contributions received during both 1960 and 1961 to the accomplishment of such major projects as the research and writing of the Social Science Essays, to which \$9,000.00 was put during the year, and the publication of the S. N. Castle biography as anticipated in last year's annual report. Although there was a decrease in net earnings amounting to about \$50 a month, current income during the year met current costs and the Special Fund or Reserve of contributions during 1960 for operating expenses of the Society (\$2,710) remained intact at the end of 1961.

Also during the year under review, your auditor surveyed the premises of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the adequacy (in terms of published requirements) of the protection afforded persons in the building and the valuable collection of books in the event of fallout, etc. A report on the minor improvements appearing to be in order was made your Trustees, and follow-up action was initiated by them.

Thanking you again for the privilege and pleasure of serving you, I remain

Yours very truly,  
(MRS.) VIVIEN K. GILBERT, C.P.A.

Honolulu, Hawaii  
January 13, 1962

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL CONDITION  
December 31, 1961

VIVIEN K. GILBERT  
Certified Public Accountant  
P. O. Box 3294  
Honolulu 1, Hawaii

**ASSETS**

<b>Current Assets:</b>			
Cash on hand and in checking account.....	\$ 1,852.93		
First Federal Savings & Loan Association.....	9,382.82	\$11,235.75	
Investments at market, 12/31/61.....		5,865.50	
Books and pamphlets for resale.....		7,384.10	
Total current assets.....		\$24,485.35	
<b>Capital Assets:</b>			
Library of books and pamphlets at cost, including donations of same and purchases with Special Funds*.....	\$ 9,080.00		
Pictures, photographs and maps.....	1,995.00		
Furnishings and equipment, less depreciation.....	435.32		
Building (1/3 interest), less depreciation.....	6,000.00	\$17,510.32	
TOTAL ASSETS.....		\$41,995.67	

**LIABILITIES, RESERVES & CAPITAL**

Accounts and taxes payable.....				\$ 13.70
<b>Restricted Reserves:</b>	12/31/60	Increase	Decrease	12/31/61
Microfilming.....	\$ 1,247.04	\$ .....	\$ 259.11	\$ 987.93
M. Jones Fund.....	42.93	.....	27.29	15.64
S. N. & M. Castle Fund.....	383.79	.....	37.84	345.95
W. R. Castle Book Fund.....	4,000.00	.....	4,000.00	.....
Publications & Operations..	2,710.00	250.00	.....	2,960.00
Social Science Essays.....	6,000.00	6,250.00	9,000.00	3,250.00
Meiric Dutton Memorial.....	.....	190.00	.....	190.00
Damon: Dole Book				
Purchases.....	.....	184.38	184.38	.....
J. Waterhouse.....	.....	5.00	.....	5.00
	\$14,383.76	\$6,879.38	\$13,508.62	\$ 7,754.52
<b>Capital:</b>				
Balance at 12/31/60.....				\$33,130.20
Transfers for Special Funds applied to Capital Assets during 1961.....				249.51
Increase in market value of Investments.....				829.90
				\$34,209.61
Net Income from operations in 1961.....				17.84
TOTAL LIABILITIES, RESERVES & CAPITAL.....				\$41,995.67

\*Not including copies of the "Life of S. N. Castle" by W. N. Castle, published with special funds given HHS, which books will have selective distribution only, without charge.

# HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE

12 months ending December 31, 1961

VIVIEN K. GILBERT

Certified Public Accountant

P. O. Box 3294

Honolulu 1, Hawaii

### INCOME:

Membership dues received . . . . .	\$ 2,310.00	
Contributions (other than to Special Funds):		
Annie H. Parke Estate . . . . .	\$ 467.97	
Dole Royalty . . . . .	130.20	
Transfer from Special Funds . . . . .	708.20	
Miscellaneous . . . . .	22.00	\$ 1,328.37
Dividends & interest income . . . . .	684.40	
Sales: Books & publications, less estimated cost of sales . . . . .	153.46	4,476.23
Non-capital utilization of Special Funds contributed		<u>12,550.91*</u>
Available resources . . . . .		\$17,027.14

### EXPENSE:

Membership Program expenses:		
Printing annual report, less allocations to member- ship drive exp., to cost of sales of AR#69 during year, and to inventory available for resale . . . . .	\$ 455.57	
Library and office supplies & expense . . . . .	376.36*	
Essay contest . . . . .	187.39	
Membership and fund drives . . . . .	162.44	
Members' meetings . . . . .	158.57	
Postage other than for above items . . . . .	70.85	\$ 1,411.18
Recurrent Organizational expenses:		
Salaries & payroll taxes . . . . .	1,972.45	
Building maintenance and depreciation of building, furniture, etc. . . . .	849.75	
Accounting and auditing . . . . .	300.00	
Telephone . . . . .	153.84	
Dues and subscriptions . . . . .	30.28	\$ 3,306.32
Funded Projects:		
Social Science Essays . . . . .	\$9,000.00	
Publishing "Life of S. N. Castle" . . . . .	3,291.80	\$12,291.80
Applied resources . . . . .		\$17,009.30
Net income (to Capital Account) . . . . .		<u>\$ 17.84</u>

\*Including \$259.11 expended from Microfilming Fund.

## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

During 1961, many worth-while publications have come to the Society from authors and presses as gifts to the library. The following list indicates the scope of subject matter:

The Spreckelsville Plantation, by Jacob Adler.

The History of the Family of Ames, by Alden Ames

My Seventy Years in Hawaii, 1879-1958, by Chung Kun Ai

Collected Documents of the Japanese Mission to America, 1860, by George M. Brooke, Jr.

Life of Samuel Northrup Castle, by William Richards Castle, Jr.

Reminiscences of William Richards Castle, by William Richards Castle

Original Land Titles in Hawaii, by Jon J. Chinen

Year Book, 1960, Commonwealth of Australia

Hawaii and Its People, by A. Grove Day

Conversational Hawaiian, by Samuel H. Elbert and Samuel H. Keala

Angels over the Altar, by Alfred Frankenstein

Hawaiian Coins, Tokens and Paper Money, by Maurice M. Gould and K. Bressett.

The Larkin Papers, volume VII, by George P. Hammond, ed.

Aloha Susan, by Helen P. Hoyt

Portuguese in Hawaii, by Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr.

Lahaina Historical Guide, by the Maui Historical Society

Official Year Book, 1961, New Zealand

Two Brothers. Voyage around the World, 1850, by Robert R. Newell

South Sea Foam, by Middleton A. Safroni

The Island Civilizations of Polynesia, by Robert C. Suggs

Registry of Guests and Visitors, 1911-1928, Volcano House

A Brief History of Benjamin Franklin Dillingham, by John Wright

Missionaries to Statehood in Hawaii, by Harold Yost, ed.

Gifts of publications from local organizations and departments of Government formed a substantial part of our acquisitions. They came from the Board of Land and Natural Resources, Department of Economic Development, Department of Public Instruction, University Study and Development Commission, Commissioner of Public Lands, Hawaii State Planning Office and Department of Transport, Board of Water Supply, as well as the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce and the Community Planning, Incorporated.

There were two purchases of books from the Maude Jones Memorial Fund, both of the high quality set by the Society for her memorial: The Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, by S. M. Kamakau, and the second volume of the

definitive edition, *The Journals of Captain James Cook, Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure, 1772-1775*, by J. C. Beaglehole, editor.

The Castle Fund was drawn upon for purchases of books and for much needed binding. Purchases included the following:

*The Hawaiian Republic, 1894-1898*, by William Adam Russ, Jr.

*Haleakala Guide*, by George C. Ruhle

*Trailside Plants of the Hawaii National Park*, by Hubbard and Bender

*Volcanoes of Hawaii National Park, 1952*, by MacDonald and Hubbard

*Volcanoes of the National Parks in Hawaii, 1961*, by MacDonald and Hubbard

*Ferns of Hawaii National Park*, by D. H. Hubbard

*Hawaii: A History*, by Kuykendall and Day

*I Knew Queen Liliuokalani*, by Bernice P. Irwin

*Annie's Captain*, by Kathryn Hulme

*The Hawaii Book*, by Thomas C. Jones, editor

*Hale Hoike*, by John Dominis Holt

*Pacific Discovery, Hawaii Number, Sept.-Oct., 1961*, by California Academy of Sciences

*Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1950*, by Attorney General and Public Archives, editors.

*The Chinese in Hawaii. A Historical Sketch*, by Robert M. Lee.

The Library has made some progress in binding old material which has never been bound or which was in need of rebinding, as well as in gathering serials into volumes. In the former category are *The Progressive Educator, 1894-1899*; *Master Plans and Second Progress Report of the Territorial Planning Board, 1940-1941*; *U.S. Congress report on Annexation of Hawaii, 1893*; *Why and What Am I?* by James Jackson Jarves; *Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish and Dampier*; *Samoan Dictionary* by George Pratt; *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language*, by George Pratt; *A Narrative of the Mutiny on Board His Majesty's Ship Bounty*, by William Bligh; five volumes of *Whaleman's Shipping List and Merchants' Transcript, 1872-1875, 1879*.

Serials which were bound included recent numbers of the *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, *California Historical Society Quarterly*, *Hawaii Baptist Convention*, *Hawaiian Church Chronicle*, *Hawaiian Evangelical Association Annual Reports*, *Hawaiian Historical Society Annual Reports*, *The Friend*, *Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations*, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, *Pacific Historical Review*, *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, *Paradise of the Pacific*, *Report of the Mayor of Honolulu to the People*, and *University of Hawaii Directory*.

Requests for research from twenty-one states and from two foreign countries during 1961 covered a wide range of topics, and most of them opened up new vistas of what our library will yield when probed. As usual there were many inquiries from elementary schools about our nickname as a state, our state flower, song and seal, and most of these were turned over to the Department of Public Instruction which has pertinent material to mail out. But the requests from mature investigators were rewarding.

Biographies and genealogical information were most sought after, and these often opened up data on old families of Hawaii which had hitherto not been assembled. Indeed, some of them established relationships between the inquirers and residents of Hawaii now living. We worked on such early residents as James E. Shaw, a court singer during Kalakaua's reign, and Esther Puakinamu Stephenson, his wife; John Merrill Shaw, who once owned the Waihee Plantation on Maui; Captain Joseph Jajczay, Hungarian Captain of King Lunalilo's body guard which mutinied; Irene West and her Royal Hawaiian Troupe; William Hooper and his family of Koloa Plantation of Kauai and the related Littles; Almeda Hitchcock Moore, John P. Hughes, and such public characters as John Young, John Coffin Jones, and members of the royal Kamehameha and Kalakaua families. The need of our Library for collecting biographical material from our members has been demonstrated anew.

Railroading in Hawaii, and material on the Honolulu Marine Railway, once the concern of the Lyle and Sorenson families, were other topics. One of the most interesting requests was for an article on "the old palace", the residence in Honolulu of five kings, which was to be printed in the Marshall Evening Chronicle of Marshall, Michigan. The occasion was a drive in that city for \$30,000 for the purchase and rehabilitation of a replica of this palace, which was built there by Abner Pratt, when he returned in 1860 after his tour of duty as U.S. Consul in Hawaii.

Work on the library itself has been interrupted for long periods by the librarian's duties which have been concerned with other interests of the Society. Fortunately for nine months, the services of Miss Nell Moore, for some years librarian at St. Andrew's Priory, were secured to handle a great many routine matters, as well as to make a start on cataloguing our sizeable Hawaiian texts, which have long been properly arranged on shelves but without cards to record them. Mrs. Bickerton again gave a day a week to pasting and filing our biographical clipping collection. The year closed with no backlog of items to be accessioned and catalogued, but with the usual opportunities for making analytic cards still ungrasped for lack of time.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLOWDEAN C. HANDY, *Librarian*

# LIST OF MEMBERS\*

As of December 31, 1961

## HONORARY

Kuykendall, Ralph S., Honolulu

## LIFE

Allerton, Robert, Koloa, Kauai  
Ashford, Marguerite K.

Baker, Ray Jerome  
Brown, Zadoc White  
Burns, Mrs. Fritz B., Los Angeles,  
Calif.

Cades, J. Russell  
Cades, Milton  
Cooke, Mrs. C. Montague, Jr.  
Cooke, Mrs. George P., Kualapuu,  
Molokai

Cooke, Mrs. Theodore A.  
Cox, Joel B., Hanalei, Kauai

Damon, Ethel M., Lihue, Kauai  
Damon, Mary M.  
Dillingham, Walter F.  
Dillingham, Mrs. Walter F.

Earle, J. C.

Fagan, Mrs. Paul I., Hillsborough,  
Calif.

Gilbert, Mrs. Vivien K.  
Gregg, John Wyatt, Koloa, Kauai

Halbedl, Renee  
Hoyt, Simes T.  
Hoyt, Mrs. Simes T.

Judd, Bernice  
Judd, Walter F., Kaneohe, Oahu

Kahananui, Mrs. Dorothy M.

Luahine, Iolani

MacNaughton, Boyd  
MacNaughton, Malcolm  
Midkiff, Frank E.  
Midkiff, Robert R.  
Mitchell, Donald D.

Obermer, Mrs. Seymour

Pukui, Mrs. Mary Kawena

Schelderup, Gunnar  
Schubert, Anthony, Dhahran, Saudi  
Arabia

Sinclair, Gregg M.  
Spaulding, Thomas M., Washing-  
ton, D.C.

Towill, R. M.

Towill, Mrs. R. M.

Von Holt, Herman V.

Von Holt, Mrs. Herman V.

Waterhouse, John T.  
White, Mrs. Robert E.  
Wilcox, Gaylord P., Puhi, Kauai  
Wilcox, Mabel I., Lihue, Kauai

Young, Alfred C., Los Angeles,  
Calif.

## SUSTAINING

Black, Mrs. Robert E.

Castle, Alfred L.

Greenwell, Mrs. Arthur L.

Kimball, Mrs. Clifford

King, Garfield

King, Mrs. Garfield

O'Neill, Edward A.

Wilson, Mrs. Clarence H.

Wright, John

\*NOTE: Honolulu, Hawaii address unless otherwise noted.

## CONTRIBUTING

- |                                      |                                      |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Adler, Jacob                         | Farrar, Mrs. R. J. H., Kamuela,      |
| Adler, Mrs. Jacob                    | Hawaii                               |
| Alexander, William P.                | Fiddy, Arthur C.                     |
| Allen, Riley H.                      | Fink, William E.                     |
| Ancill, Mrs. Harold J.               | First Federal Savings & Loan Assn.   |
| Anderson, R. Alexander               | of Hawaii                            |
| Anthony, J. Garner                   | Fisher, Mrs. Clara S., Olaa, Hawaii  |
| Awai, George E. K.                   | Fricke, Mrs. Maud, Aiea, Oahu        |
|                                      | Frowe, Mrs. Chester E.               |
|                                      | Fukunaga, George J.                  |
| Baldwin, Mrs. Harry A., Haliimaile,  |                                      |
| Maui                                 |                                      |
| Baldwin, Mrs. Richard H., Makawao,   | Gast, Ross H., Los Angeles, Calif.   |
| Maui                                 | Gilliland, Norman R.                 |
| Bartow, Thomas P.                    | Goldsmith, Joel S.                   |
| Beatty, James S., Naalehu, Hawaii    | Goodwin, Richard T.                  |
| Bell, Janet E.                       | Greene, Ernest W., Washington, D.C.  |
| Biven, Mrs. Ethel H.                 | Grider, F. K.                        |
| Blair, Mrs. Marion                   | Gros, Frederick Christian            |
| Bowers, Mrs. Laura P., Kaneohe,      |                                      |
| Oahu                                 | Handy, E. S. Craighill, Oakton, Va.  |
| Bowman, Mrs. Donald S., Jr.,         | Harden, Bruce P., Hilo, Hawaii       |
| Kailua, Oahu                         | Harden, Mrs. Bruce P., Hilo, Hawaii  |
| Brewer, Mrs. Lela R.                 | Harding, George L., Berkeley, Calif. |
| Brodsky, Mrs. Maurice Q.             | Harris, Mrs. Violet Atherton, Kula,  |
| Brooks, Dorothy, Los Angeles, Calif. | Maui                                 |
| Budge, Alexander G.                  | Henshaw, M. B.                       |
| Buscher, Grace W., Lihue, Kauai      | Holloway, Hy C.                      |
|                                      | Humme, John T., Kapaa, Kauai         |
| Caldwell, Mrs. Henry                 | Hungerford, John B., Reseda, Calif.  |
| Carlsmith, Mrs. C. W., Hilo, Hawaii  | Hunter, Charles H.                   |
| Carswell, Archibald A.               |                                      |
| Castle, Harold K. L., Kaneohe, Oahu  | Johnson, Edward W., Pago Pago,       |
| Child, W. Dudley, Jr.                | Am. Samoa                            |
| Childs, Clinton, Lihue, Kauai        |                                      |
| Clark, Henry B., Jr.                 | Kawananakoa, Edward K., Kailua,      |
| Collins, George M., Kailua, Oahu     | Oahu                                 |
| Conrad, Agnes C.                     | Kay, Dr. E. Alison                   |
| Cooke, Mrs. J. Platt                 | Keller, Mrs. Ira C., Spreckelsville, |
|                                      | Maui                                 |
| Damon, Cyril Frank, Jr.              | Kometani, Dr. Katsumi                |
| Denison, Harry L.                    | Korn, Alfons L.                      |
| Dillingham, Harold G., Jr.           |                                      |
| Dyer, Mrs. Doris M.                  | Lederer, William J.                  |
|                                      | Lowrey, Dr. John J.                  |
| Ellis, Thomas E.                     | Lutz, Edmond A.                      |
| Erdman, Mrs. Harold R.               |                                      |

NOTE: Honolulu, Hawaii address unless otherwise noted.



Macintyre, Mrs. Malcolm  
 Magoon, Eaton H.  
 Magoon, Mrs. Eaton H.  
 Manchester, Curtis A., Jr.  
 Marnie, Mrs. Jack  
 Matsui, Totaro  
 Maxwell, Philip P.  
 McAlister, Mrs. Grace W.  
 McClellan, Mrs. Emma K.  
 McLane, L. S., Pepeekeo, Hawaii  
 McLean, Peter K.  
 Miho, Katsuro  
 Mist, H. Wentworth, Volcano,  
 Hawaii  
 Morrison, Mrs. Marion K., Kailua,  
 Oahu  
 Morse, Marion  
 Mondon, Mrs. George E., Waimea,  
 Kauai  
 Nakanishi, Thomas K.  
 Otomo, Miss Aiko  
 Palk, Jack K.  
 Peterson, Rudolph A., San Francisco,  
 Calif.  
 Pikarski, Stanley  
 Pietsch, Charles J.  
 Pietsch, David T.  
 Pratt, Randall A., Kailua, Oahu  
 Pratt, Mrs. Randall A., Kailua, Oahu  
 Price, Louis P.  
 Reppun, Dr. J. I. Frederick,  
 Kaneohe, Oahu  
 Rice, Philip L.  
 Richards, Atherton  
 Roehrig, Kenneth W.  
 Russell, John E.

Saul, Mrs. Harriet Wery, Volcano,  
 Hawaii  
 Scott, Mrs. Alvah A.  
 Sevier, Randolph, San Francisco,  
 Calif.  
 Shearer, Hugh  
 Shingle, Seymour  
 Shipman, Herbert C., Hilo, Hawaii  
 Smith, Arthur G.  
 Smith, Barbara B.  
 Smith, C. Hutton  
 Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth Lyu, Wahiawa,  
 Oahu  
 Smith, Mrs. Ronald Q.  
 Spurrier, Joseph Howard, Logan,  
 Utah  
 Steiner, Harry  
 Swadley, Mrs. Frank L.  
 Tabrah, Mrs. Frank L., Kohala,  
 Hawaii  
 Taylor, Mrs. Harry J. W., Waialua,  
 Oahu  
 Terry, Mrs. S. W., Berkeley, Calif.  
 Terry, Seymour  
 Theaker, Morley L.  
 Todd, Margaret  
 Van Gieson, Ellwood E.  
 Von Hamm, C. C.  
 Von Hamm, Mrs. C. C.  
 Wheeler, Rev. Dr. Paul Moore  
 White, George E., Jr.  
 Wiig, Mrs. Jon  
 Wilcox, Mrs. Marion W., Koloa,  
 Kauai  
 Wolbrink, Donald H.  
 Wyzanski, Henry N.

#### REGULAR

Aaron, Thomas R.  
 Ahrens, Wilhelmina I.  
 Aitken, Robert  
 Akerman, Mrs. A. T.  
 Alexander, John F.  
 Allen, Gwenfread E.  
 Altman, Jack

Anderson, Bruce, Denver, Colorado  
 Anderson, Mrs. Eleanor  
 Andrade, Ernest, Jr.  
 Angus, Jean Kent  
 Armitage, George T., Calistoga,  
 Calif.  
 Arnemann, George F.

NOTE: Honolulu, Hawaii address unless otherwise noted.

Arnold, Dr. Harry L., Jr.	Carter, Mrs. George R., Makawao, Maui
Ashford, Clinton R., Kaneohe, Oahu	Carter, Mrs. Reginald H.
Atherton, Alexander S.	Chaffee, Mrs. W. N.
Ayson, Benjamin E.	Charlot, Jean
Bachman, Ross W., Ewa, Oahu	Ching, Robert Y. K.
Bacon, George E.	Christian, Mrs. George R.
Bacon, Mrs. George E.	Chun-Fat, Janet Lani, Kailua, Oahu
Bailey, Mrs. Alice Cooper, Weston, Mass.	Chung-Hoon, Gordon Paiea
Bailey, Mrs. Charles T.	Clifford, Mrs. L. W.
Banner, Albert H.	Clopton, Robert W.
Bannick, Nancy M.	Cloward, R. B.
Barrere, Mrs. F. Waldron, Kailua, Oahu	Cluff, E. Curtis, Jr.
Barrett, Gwynn W., Laie, Oahu	Cooke, Mrs. Harrison R.
Bickerton, Mrs. Agnes C.	Cooke, Mrs. Richard, Jr.
Billson, Marcus K.	Corbett, Mrs. Gerald R.
Bingham, Woodbridge, Berkeley, Calif.	Cornuelle, H. C.
Bishop, Brenda	Cox, Mrs. Isaac M.
Blaisdell, Richard K., FPO, San Francisco, Calif.	Cox, J. Halley
Bown, Helen May	Cox, Richard H.
Boynton, Mrs. Anthony B., Kailua, Oahu	Crawford, Carolyn
Brash, Mrs. Calvin, Ewa, Oahu	Crellin, Curtis V.
Brilliande, Robert	Crossley, Randolph
Brilliande, Mrs. Robert	Cushing, Robert L.
Brown, George Ii	Damon, Henry E.
Brown, Mrs. James D.	Davis, Carl D.
Bruce, Frank J.	Davis, Mrs. Carl D.
Bryan, Edwin H., Jr.	Daws, Alan G.
Burnett, Gerald B.	Day, Josephine E.
Buscher, Mrs. Henry W.	Day, Vera M.
Bush, George	Dearborn Chemical Company
Bushnell, Oswald	Derby, Stephen A.
Cadagan, C. C.	Derby, Mrs. Stephen A.
Cadagan, Mrs. C. C.	Desha, David L.
Calley, Mrs. C. D.	Devereux, Mrs. Helen D.
Cannon, George Q.	Dillingham, Mrs. Peter H.
Carey, Elizabeth	Doty, Edouard R. L.
Carlsmith, C. Wendell, Hilo, Hawaii	Duane, Marguerite K.
Carney, Mrs. J. J., Kailua, Oahu	Dunkhase, Mrs. Carl
Carson, Mrs. Lorraine T.	Dutton, Mrs. Meiric K.
Carter, A. Hartwell, Kamuela, Hawaii	Ecke, Gustav
Carter, George R., Makawao, Maui	Edgecomb, Mrs. F. A.
	Edwards, Mrs. Dorsey W., Puerto Rico
	Edwards, Webley
	Elbert, Samuel H.

NOTE: Honolulu, Hawaii address unless otherwise noted.

Emory, Kenneth P.  
 Erwin, Ada B.  
 Evans, Robert F.  
 Ewart, Arthur F.  
 Eyre, Dean A., Jr.  
 Feher, Joseph  
 Fennell, Dolla  
 Feuerring, Jacob  
 Finney, Joseph C.  
 Fisher, Mrs. Gerald W.  
 Fitzpatrick, Floyd W.  
 Forbes, David William  
 Fortess, Leo, Kaneohe, Oahu  
 Fraser, Juliette May  
 Fraser, Mabel  
 Frazier, Harold V.  
 Frazier, Mrs. Harold V.  
 Frederick, Pauline M.  
 Freeth, Douglas W.  
 Freitas, Mrs. Annette  
 Frost, Rossie Moodie  
 Fullard-Leo, Mrs. E. B.  
 Gamble, Lester H.  
 Gentry, Virginia  
 George, Dorothy  
 Gibson, Mrs. Frank DeWitt  
 Gibson, Ynez  
 Gignoux, Alexis J.  
 Gill, Lorin T.  
 Gill, Mrs. Thomas, Sr.  
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